

SECRET



OPE 59 0142/0001/021/

Declassified
Rams
18/11/04
211/21

H0325/143

Relationships between the Police and Immigrants

Liaison in Immigrant Communities

Black Power march through Paddington and Notting Hill, demonstrating against the Police 9.8.70

INATION	DATE	Initials	DESTINATION	DATE	Initials	DESTINATION	DATE	Initials
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18/8/70	ES	Mr P Smith	22/12/71	ES	BF 8:12:86	8 DEC 82
18/8/70	ES	Lay By				
18/8	ES	B.F. 10/8/8				
19/8	ES	PA				
19/8	ES	Mr Smith	17/12/71	ES		
20/8	AW	PA	13/8	KE		
27/8	ES	PA				
19/1/71	AW	MRS E. Smith	3 9 76	9		
		From BF 29/6/86	29/6/77	more		
	ES	B.F. 29:6:86	31 JUL 1977			
21/5/71	ES	PA	31 JUL 1977			
21/5/71	ES	Miss Kerr F4	28 DEC 1980			
	ES	PA	9-12-80			
31/8/71	ES	PA	25/4/82			
	ES	PA				
		Mr Duggan	28/5-			
26/11/71	MG	PA	8/12			

ALL DOCUMENTS WITHIN THIS FILE HAVE BEEN
DECLASSIFIED
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF
HOME OFFICE (HD) NOTICE 3/1998

Name S. DAVIS Date 18. Oct 04

SEE NOTE INSIDE FRONT COVER

SECRET

METROPOLITAN POLICE

No. 728 (Unruled)

22A

Reference
to Papers

{ C.O. 202/69/510
Divn.

West End Central

STATION.

'C' DIVN.

Registry Folio No.

18th November

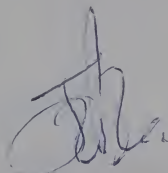
196... 9

1.

To Detective Chief Superintendent.

With reference to the attached
anonymous letter, concerning the assault on
Police Constable 554 'H' ROGERS, at Grosvenor
Square, W.1., on the 27th October 1968.

This letter is submitted
to be attached to the relevant correspondence.



J. Pole

Detective Sergeant 'C'

-2-

A.C.C. (C.2)

Submitted for information.

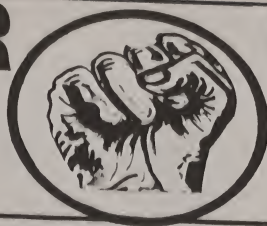


19.11.69

for Detective Chief Superintendent
for Commander 'C' Division

All minutes to be numbered in consecutive order. Continue on other side if necessary.

BATTLE FOR FREEDOM AT OLD BAILEY



BROTHERS & SISTERS ON TRIAL FOR DEFENDING THE RIGHTS OF BLACK PEOPLE

The trial of the Mangrove Nine grinds into its tenth week at the Old Bailey. The trial arises out of the struggle of the black community of Britain for freedom from the growing oppression of this government, its police, its courts, its laws old and new. The defence of the nine brothers and sisters, who are charged with conspiracy to riot, affray and assault on police, is an important part of that struggle.

The Immigration Bill and the Industrial Relations Bill that this government has passed, the twenty bomb attacks on the homes of black people in the last year, the murder of David Oluwale by the Leeds police and the events in and around the Mangrove trial itself show us quite clearly how Britain intends to deal with its people. Our response is equally clear. We are not willing to be dealt with in this way.

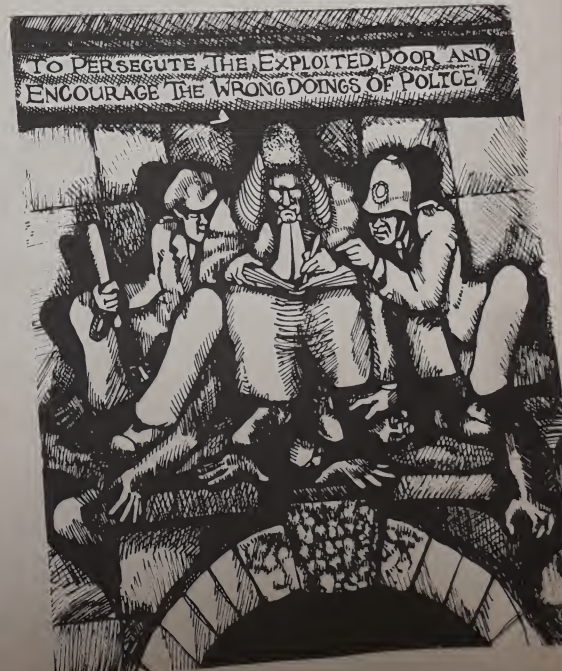
As sister Althea Lecointe, one of the three defending themselves in this trial, pointed out, the demonstration in Notting Hill on Aug. 9th. 1970 out of which the charges arise, "should never have been necessary". The police of that area in London had for years harassed and brutalised the people of Notting Hill. The Mangrove restaurant, one of the nerve centres of the community, had been raided without reason several times. Evidence in the trial showed how high the resentment of the brothers and sisters, both defendants and witnesses, against this constant unchecked brutality

was. An Action Committee of concerned people called and organised the demonstration to bring this feeling, in a perfectly legal way, onto the streets. As witness after witness said, when the demonstration, 300 strong, reached Portnall and Marban Road, the police cordoned off the demonstration, attacked it viciously and attempted to break it up. In the confusion that followed, the police arrested 30 people. Of the nine who face charges at the Bailey only four were arrested on that day. The five others were rounded up upto a year later.

At the preliminary hearing the police case of 'incitement to riot' collapsed. The police tried to change the charge to 'riot'. Magistrate David Wachter refused to have it on the grounds that police witnesses themselves had said that the demo broke up in a 'spontaneous melee'. On Oct. 5th., when the case began at the Old Bailey, the brothers and sisters found that this charge of 'conspiracy to riot' had been brought back.

The trial began with the unanimous demand from the defendants for an all black jury, a jury drawn from a community which is aware of the background and position of black people in this country. Judge Edward Clark, working with the Clerk of the Court and the prosecution, denied this demand which the law of Britain is supposed to guarantee. As the jury was being selected, a black brother was taking the oath when the prosecution objected and had him removed.

The case has been a systematic exposure of police lies, the way in which the prosecution, having no evidence, tries to play on the prejudices of the jury, of the way in which the judge plays the part of chief prosecutor, attacking and obstructing the defence. The trial has brought out the reality of the oppression we face from police and courts and the determination of black people to answer it, point by point. The defendants say they have no case to answer. Bro. Rhodan, defending himself, asked the jury to wash its hands off the charges, to have no part in the police conspiracy or the legal frame up.



WE DEMAND JUSTICE FOR THE MANGROVE 9

BLACK PEOPLE HARRASSED IN & OUTSIDE OLD BAILEY

The working class of Britain have a saying --- "one law for the rich, another for the poor". Events inside and outside the courtroom in the Mangrove 9 trial, clearly show the truth of this and also that there is one law for black and another for white.

Before the trial started, the clerk of the court informed brothers and sisters that their relatives would not be allowed into the well of the court as is common practice. He said instead he would give them two tickets each which could be used to enter the public gallery. This showed quite openly that there was a plan to conduct a secret trial. The tickets were returned to Boyd and the defence insisted that the normal procedure be followed. The police of the court made determined efforts to harass black people coming and going from the court. Black assistants of the defence lawyers and solicitors were stopped outside the court and searched. On several occasions, cars belonging to black people, parked at meters outside the court, were towed away by the police without justification.

The courtroom and the dock have not been able to isolate these nine brothers and sisters from the community and struggle of which they are a part. In the first week of the trial, brothers and sisters from the community, protesting against political frame-ups, picketed the Old Bailey. The police, frightened by this show of support from the community, complained to the clerk of the court who came outside and reported back to the judge who said he had no objections as long as it was not 'in contempt of court.'

On Tuesday the 7th Dec. a second picket was organised. At about ten o'clock brothers and sisters assembled and silently circled the island in front of the main building. We were simply exercising the right to protest against injustice, that this country pretends to give us. The police were enraged by the show of solidarity and determination and reacted by towing away a black brother's car from a parking meter. At about eleven o'clock, the brothers and sisters took a break for an hour. The placards were put in



car which was legitimately parked around the corner. At 12 o'clock when the picket reassembled, the bros. and sis. noticed that the police had towed away the car with the placards. They showed their determination to carry on with the picket. A collection was made, cards, markers and sello tape bought and 25 new placards written out. The picket with increased numbers and determination was back on the street. The police were furious. They stood in single file formation along the pavements surrounding the picket.

At 12.40 two Chief Suptds. of police

and a Commander turned up and demanded that the picket be stopped. They said that the picket was likely to cause a breach of the peace as a member of the public might attack the picket. He was not ashamed of saying that in a racist society the police saw it as their duty to break up a legal picket to protect racists from annoyance. He ordered his bully boys to attack and they swarmed into the street, grabbing and pushing demonstrators. Six police fell upon Bro. Gregory Galloway and beat him to the ground. They then arrested him and charged him with assault.

VICIOUS AND COWARDLY ATTACK ON 18 YR. OLD BRO. GALLOWAY

ON THE 21ST OF JANUARY THE YOUNG BROTHER, ATTACKED BY SIX POLICEMEN WHILE PICKETING OUTSIDE THE OLD BAILEY, WILL APPEAR AT GUILD-HALL MAGISTRATE'S COURT AT 10 a.m. (NEAREST STATION: BANK)

THE PHOTOGRAPH (LEFT) SHOWS WHO ASSAULTED WHOM.



THIRD PICKET ON MONDAY 13 DECEMBER AT 10 a.m.
OUTSIDE OLD BAILEY (nearest tube: St Paul's)

PUBLISHED BY BLACK PANTHER
MOVEMENT, 10 DECEMBER 1971

Aug. 7th
Demonstration / Political Statement

NA
 HO

We, the Black People of London have called this demonstration in protest against constant police harrassment which is being carried out against us, and which is condoned by the legal syatem.

In particular, we are calling for an end to the persecution of the Mangrove Restaurant of 8 All Saints Road, W.11., a Restuarant that serves the Black Community.

These deliberate raids, harrassments and provocations have been reported to the Home Office on many occasions. So too has the mounting list of grievances such as raids on West Indian parties, Wedding Receptions, and other places where Black People lawfully gather.

We feel this protest is necessary ^{AS} ~~as~~ all other methods have failed to bring about any change in the manner the police have chosen to deal with Black People.

We shall continue to protest until Black People are treated with justice by the Police and the Law Courts.

Action Group for the Defence of the Mangrove.

Copies have been sent to :

Home Office,
 Prime Minister,
 Leader of the Opposition,
 High Commissioners of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados.

To The Prime Minister,
 Rt. Hon. Edward Heath,
 Downing Street.
 S.W.1.



Issued by H. ANTHONY MCHIPP, Barrister-at-Law.
 c/o 8, All Saints Road, W.11.

22/14
E.R.

Mr. Wright 12/11/73
I understand that no specific point arose 9/11/73
Mr. Markman Mr. Waddell 62

SIR PHILIP ALLEN

I am not sure how specific Mr. Jenkins may be about an inquiry on police/immigrant relations in Notting Hill. Mr. Hilary's note gives the general history following the Mangrove trial and concludes, rightly I am sure, that we should not seriously think of initiating anything (either ourselves or through the Met police) until we see what the Select Committee say. (I fear that one thing they may say will give us a good deal of pain - namely, that complaints against police officers should not be investigated by the police: but that is another story.)

If your talk turns to specific forms of inquiry, it may be worth bearing two or three points in mind:

- (i) The Frost Programme, having thought of their characteristic form of confrontation on police/immigrant relations as the basis for a programme next Sunday, appear to have abandoned the idea. They then thought about complaints as the theme but, in discussion with Mr. Mark, have now decided on an ambitious type of programme about what society expects of the police and what the police expects of society. (I think I sent you a note about this a few days ago. It is, I suppose, likely that within the wider theme the programme will seek to deal with relations with immigrant communities.)
- (ii) The sort of inquiry Mr. Bruce Douglas-Mann has sought to promote strikes me as quite misconceived. Anything resembling a judicial confrontation which encourages people to impute blame is a bad notion; and, although

I may be doing Mr. Douglas-Mann an injustice, I suspect that this is what he is after. I hope Mr. Jenkins would not lend Mr. Douglas-Mann his support in any way.

- (iii) Mr. Mark has been thinking about the need to provide himself with advice about police work in the coloured communities. I have not yet discussed this with him in detail but I do not think he is much interested in finding a permanent place on his staff for an adviser, be it from the Community Relations Commission or the Race Relations Board. What he has more in mind is providing himself with the opportunity of meeting two or three people from time to time who would give him the benefit (with, I think, due acknowledgement) of their experience and with whom he could turn over ideas of his own.

gldw

22nd March, 1972.

Copy: Mr. Hilary



Miss Sermon

cc: Mr Waddell
Mr Wright

As requested in your note of 13 March,
I enclose a note about police/immigrant
relations in Notting Hill for Sir Philip
Allen's meeting with Mr Roy Jenkins.

D H J Hilary

D H J HILARY

F4 Division

21 March 1972

4a7

POLICE/IMMIGRANT RELATIONS IN NOTTING HILL

The Mangrove restaurant demonstration on 9 August 1970

On 9 August 1970 a demonstration was held in Notting Hill against alleged harassment by the police of the owners of the Mangrove restaurant. There were disturbances during the march and 19 people were arrested. Nine of them appeared at the recent Old Bailey trial. Five of the defendants were found not guilty. The other four were found guilty on various charges (assault; affray; having an offensive weapon) and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 9 to 15 months, suspended for two years.

The visits by the police to the restaurant, which gave rise to the allegations of harassment, were made at the instigation of the Westminster City Council, who declined to grant the restaurant a night cafe registration certificate. Summonses for supplying food without such a certificate were heard on 11 September 1970, when the defendants were convicted on nine summonses and fined a total of £285 with £90 costs.

Mr Douglas-Mann's interest

Mr Douglas-Mann wrote on 13 August 1970, 22 January 1971 and 4 June 1971 seeking an inquiry into police/coloured relations in Notting Hill. He also saw Mr Sharples on 4 August 1970¹. He was told that the Commissioner of Police was taking steps to improve relations and that to put the police up for inquiry would hamper their efforts. There were no grounds for thinking that such an inquiry was necessary or that it would assist in any way.

Mr Douglas-Mann wrote again in December reiterating his previous request. He also sought information about the restoration of the riot charge at the Old Bailey and investigation under section 49 of the Police Act 1964 into a complaint concerning Mr Rhodan Gordon, a defendant in the case, by an officer from outside the Metropolitan Police. He also put down a Question to the Home Secretary on 27 January asking "whether he will set up an inquiry into relations between the police and the black community in Notting Hill".

On 26 January the Home Secretary wrote to Mr Douglas-Mann telling him that the charge of riot had been re-introduced and included in the indictment by the Director of Public Prosecutions; and that the Commissioner, who had received complaints about the Gordon case before the MP wrote, had already appointed an investigating officer from another Division of the Metropolitan Police. However, it would be possible to reconsider the appointment of an investigating officer from another force after Mr Gordon's case had been disposed of by the Court.

In answer to the Parliamentary Question on 27 January the Home Secretary said: "I am still considering a very detailed report which I have received from the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis. The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, which is inquiring into relations between the police and coloured persons, will be visiting Notting Hill shortly".

The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration

The Select Committee heard evidence at Westminster on 9 February from Mr Bruce Douglas-Mann, and in Notting Hill on 10 February from the police and the representatives of various groups. It would not seem sensible to think in terms of a special inquiry at Notting Hill until the Select Committee has reported.

Case of Mr Rhodan Gordon

On 16 December 1971 Mr Gordon was found guilty of affray at the Central Criminal Court and was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment suspended for two years. On 17 December ^{he} was arrested and charged with assaulting a police officer and wilful obstruction of the highway. When he appeared in Marylebone Magistrates Court on 1 March 1972, the first charge was dismissed and he was fined £5 on the second charge. Mr Gordon has given verbal notice ^{? and} of appeal against conviction and fine.

On 18 December 1971 Mr Gordon took out summonses at Marylebone Magistrates Court alleging assault, contrary to section 42 of the Offences Against the Person Act 1861, by two Metropolitan police officers. The

offences are alleged to have taken place at Notting Hill Police Station after his arrest on 17 December 1971.

As mentioned above Mr Bruce Douglas-Mann has written to the Home Secretary about this, but the complaint cannot be investigated until Mr Gordon's appeal and the case against the two police officers have been disposed of by the Courts. As yet no dates have been fixed for these hearings. We have asked the Metropolitan Police to consult us about the investigating officer before the investigation commences.

The Judge's remarks

Before pronouncing sentence at the Mangrove trial Judge Clarke said: "What this trial has shown is that there is clearly evidence of racial hatred on both sides." Inquiries have been made into what took place at the trial and they have revealed nothing to support these remarks.

At the request of the Home Secretary, Lord Windlesham met Judge Clarke on 17 March and Sir Philip Allen will have seen Mr Wright's note about the meeting.

The Metro Club

On 24 May 1971 there was a disturbance outside the Metro Club, which led to twelve arrests. Four of these arrested have been committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court, and the matter is sub judice.

QPE/69 142/1/21

Mr R J Fries
II Division
Kingsgate House

MANGROVE RESTAURANT

You asked for a note on the August 1970 demonstration
and details of the outcome of the Old Bailey trial.

I hope the enclosed note will suffice.

R E Smith
F4 Division

29 February 1972

HORSEFERRY HOUSE

ENC

THE MANGROVE RESTAURANT AFFAIR

On 9 August 1970 a demonstration in the form of a march took place in the Notting Hill, North Kensington, North Paddington and West Kilburn areas against the alleged harassment by the police of the owners of the Mangrove restaurant. There were disturbances during the march and 19 people were arrested. 24 police officers were injured and 6 of them were admitted to hospital.

Nine of those arrested appeared at the recent Old Bailey trial. Five of the defendants were found not guilty on charges of riot. This charge was rejected by the Magistrate at the committal proceedings but reintroduced and included in the indictment by the Director of Public Prosecutions. The other 4 defendants were found guilty on various charges (assault; affray; having an offensive weapon) and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 9 to 15 months, suspended for 2 years (see details on attached note).

The visits by the police to the Mangrove Restaurant which gave rise to the allegations of harassment, were made at the instigation of the Westminster City Council, who declined to grant the restaurant a night cafe registration certificate. Summonses for supplying food without such a certificate were heard on 11 September 1970, when the defendants were convicted on 9 summonses and fined a total of £285 with £90 costs.

One of the "Mangrove Nine", Mr Rhodan Gordon was arrested by police on the morning after the end of the trial and charged with assaulting a police officer. He appeared in court on 10 February and will appear again on 1 March. At the Mangrove trial, Gordon was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment, suspended for 2 years.

In answer to a Parliamentary Question by Mr Bruce Douglas-Mann asking the Home Secretary whether he would set up an inquiry into relations between the police and the black community in Notting Hill, the Home Secretary said (on 27 January): "I am still considering a very detailed report which I have received from the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis. The Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, which is inquiring into relations between the police and coloured people, will be visiting Notting Hill shortly".

This is still under consideration.

LECOINTE Mrs Althea Portia (nee Jones)

Guilty of fighting and making an affray and on 2 counts of assault on police.

Sentence: 15 months imprisonment, suspended for 2 years.

BEESE Barbara

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting, making an affray, assaulting a police officer and being in possession of an offensive weapon.

Not guilty on all counts; acquitted.

HOWE Leighton Rhett Radford

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray.

Not guilty on all counts; acquitted.

CRITCHLOW Frank Gilbert

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting, making an affray and being in possession of an offensive weapon.

Not guilty on all counts; acquitted.

GORDON Rhodan Richard

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray.

Guilty of unlawfully fighting and making an affray.

Sentence: 15 months imprisonment, suspended for 2 years.

BOYCE Rupert Glasgow

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting, making an affray, wounding and assaulting a police officer and being in possession of an offensive weapon.

Guilty of assault and possession of an offensive weapon.

Sentence: 9 months imprisonment, suspended for 2 years.

KENTISH Rothwell Wesley

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting, making an affray and being in possession of an offensive weapon.

Not guilty on all counts; acquitted.

INNIS Anthony Carlisle

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting, making an affray, causing grievous bodily harm, assaulting a police officer and being in possession of an offensive weapon.

Guilty of causing grievous bodily harm.

Sentence: 9 months imprisonment, suspended for 2 years.

MILLETT Godfrey Dominic Francis

Charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray.

Not guilty on all counts; acquitted.

CONFIDENTIAL

OF 2093/E5/40

31 January 1972

Dear [REDACTED]

Many thanks for your letter of 25th January, and for the notes on the Mangrove mine. We are glad to have them.

Yours sincerely

(D H J HILARY)

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

Mangrove

Extract 7

taken from
HO 325/143

I.

LECOINTE, Mrs. Althea Portia nee JONES
Born: 9.1.45 Trinidad
Occupation: Research Assistant at
University College.
Address: 154 Barnsbury Road, Islington,
Headquarters of the Black Panther Movement.

LECOINTE was charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray, assaulting three police officers and having in her possession an offensive weapon (a wooden figure). She conducted her own defence. In giving evidence, she admitted to voicing complaints of racial discrimination shouting slogans but never heard anyone shout "kill, kill". She said she went to the aid of a young coloured girl whose face was bleeding when a police officer grabbed and threw her into a van. She alleged that this was a political trial as the demonstration took place just after the Tory Government had come into power intent on bringing into force the Immigration Act and the Industrial Relations Act. During the case she was told repeatedly to stop interrupting and to sit down. She was found guilty of fighting and making an affray and on two counts of assault on police. She was sentenced to fifteen months imprisonment suspended for two years. The jury had recommended leniency in her case as she was pregnant.

2. LECOINTE is regarded as one of the brains behind the Black Panther Movement and has been described as academically brilliant. She is an excellent speaker and very militant.

II.

BEESE, Barbara
Born: London 2.1.46
Occupation: Unemployed
Address: 66 Oxford Gardens, W.11

BEESE was charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray, assaulting a police constable and in possession of an offensive weapon (a piece of wood). BEESE was legally represented by Ian McDONALD, [redacted] specialises in Court cases dealing with race relations. When giving evidence Barbara BEESE admitted that she carried a pig's head during a Black Power protest march in West Kilburn. She carried a placard "Hands off Black People" during the demonstration on August 9th but alleged that a white man snatched it from her. She said she went to get it back from him and was arrested.

2. Barbara BEESE is a half-caste, her mother is British but there is no record of her father's name. During the past two years she has taken an active part in black militant extremist activities and is a leading member of the Black Panthers. She also has connections with the International Marxist Group [redacted] She lives with Radford HOWE by whom she has had a child.

Correspondence to this address must be under *double cover*.

The *outer envelope* should be addressed to:—

THE SECRETARY, [REDACTED] PARLIAMENT STREET B.O., LONDON, SW1A 2LZ
and *not* to any individual.

Telephone Nos. 01-734 6050 Ext. 230
01-930 6789 Ext.



[REDACTED]
PARLIAMENT STREET B.O.,
LONDON, SW1A 2LZ

Our Ref.: OF 2093/E5/40

Your Ref.:

25th January, 1972

Dear Mr. Hilary,

Thank you for your letter of 19th January 1972. As requested I now enclose notes on the nine individuals concerned. These were prepared primarily for our representatives in the Caribbean for their local liaison. In each case, paragraph one gives a brief resume of the Court case and this includes information from the Press. Security information is given in paragraph two, and as some of this comes from delicate sources requiring protection the notes are graded secret.

Yours sincerely,

[REDACTED]

D.H.J. Hilary, Esq,
Horseferry House,
Home Office

Enc.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

EXTR
6
HO 32

SECRET

Extract 5

taken from
HD 325/143

III.

HOWE, Leighton Rhett Radford @ OWUSU, Darcus
Born: 26.2.43 Trinidad
Occupation: Barrister/Writer
Address: 66 Oxford Gardens, Kensington, W.10

HOWE was charged with riotous assembly and unlawfully fighting and making an affray. He conducted his own defence. In his final speech to the jury HOWE said that the Mangrove was not an ordinary restaurant but a unique place where members of the black community could gather. He considered the charges represented an attempt to silence the black community and challenged any suggestion that the demonstration had been organised to attack Notting Hill Police station. He warned the jury of the trial's significance saying it would "shape the consciousness of this society" and it had already "scarred the consciousness of the black community". He alleged that he cared not if he was imprisoned as this would not take away his liberty but just reduce the little he had. He was acquitted.

2. HOWE, is regarded as one of the leading black militants in London. He is a writer of black extremist literature and has taken part in many Black Power activities. He is prominent in the affairs of the Black Panther Movement, although recently he has been critical of the present leadership. He and his common law wife Barbara BEESE, are closely associated with Vanessa REDGRAVE, a benefactress of the Black Panthers.

IV.

[REDACTED]
Born: 13.7.32 Trinidad
Occupation: Manager of the Mangrove restaurant,
8 All Saints Road, W.11.

[REDACTED] was charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray and having in his possession an offensive weapon (a piece of timber). He was legally represented by David CROFT. At the trial [REDACTED] stated that the object of the Mangrove Black Power demonstration was to enlist public sympathy for coloured people in Notting Hill but it was not intended that there should be any violence. He said that he had been running the Mangrove restaurant for four years but that because of the police raids, his clientele had dropped. He denied being concerned with the making of banners before the demonstration and said that it was untrue that he led the chanting on the march or that he had thrown stones. He admitted that he had a number of previous convictions including gaming offences. He was acquitted.

2. [REDACTED] has lived in the U.K. since at least 1957. In 1966 he came to notice as an associate of Michael de FREITAS and as a district organiser of the Black Muslims. He opened the Mangrove restaurant in December 1967 which soon established a reputation as a haunt of criminals and prostitutes. In general [REDACTED] has confined his Black Power activities to those which serve his own interest. However in recent months he has become increasingly close to the Black Panther Movement.

SECRET

V.

GORDON, Rhodan Richard @ EVERIT, Richard James
@ GORDON X, @ GORDON, Roden Richard
Born: 27.10.39 Kingston, Jamaica or Grenada.
Occupation: Restaurant owner - The BakaYard restaurant,
303 Portobello Road, W.11

GORDON was charged with riotous assembly and unlawfully fighting and making an affray. He dismissed his legal representative early in the trial and from then on conducted his own defence. He denied allegations that he plotted in the Mangrove restaurant with some of his fellow defendants to attack police stations or that he took part in violence during the demonstration. He said he joined the procession to Notting Hill Police station where he left the march and went to Harrow Road Police station where he took some photographs of police officers and the station itself. He said that he was interested in the whole subject of race relations in the Notting Hill area. He made particularly offensive remarks about the judge who commented that were there any further offensive observations he would have to take other steps to which GORDON replied he didn't care. In a final statement from the dock GORDON complained that the judge had deliberately misdirected the jury on twelve different points during his summing up. He was found guilty of causing an affray and sentenced to fifteen months imprisonment suspended for two years.

2. GORDON has come to notice on many occasions since 1967 in connection with Black Power extremist activities. He was a supporter of Michael de FREITAS and distributed leaflets on the behalf of a group organised by de FREITAS. He was convicted in 1967 of being in possession of cannabis resin. His restaurant The BakaYard is a regular haunt of black militant extremists. He maintains a very close contact with the Black Panther Movement and may well be a member of this organisation. The day after the trial he was arrested and charged with assault on the police and wilful obstruction. The offences arose after GORDON had parked his motor vehicle in the centre of the roadway and had refused to move it when asked by police officers. He was remanded on bail until 10.2.72.

VI.

BOYCE, Rupert Glasgow
Born: 5.11.48 Trinidad
Occupation: Porter with British Railways
Address: 10 Home Park Road, Wimbledon, S.W.19.

BOYCE was charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray, wounding and assaulting a police officer and being in possession of an offensive weapon (a piece of mortar). He was legally represented by Leonard WOODLEY. At the trial BOYCE said he decided to go on the demonstration because he was not satisfied with the police behaviour in Notting Hill. He said he did not carry any banner or placard but held a flag in Ladbroke Grove at the request of another demonstrator. He was convicted of assaulting police officers and sentenced to nine months imprisonment suspended for two years.

2. BOYCE has been described as of a violent disposition and fanatical in his Black Power beliefs. He is said to have gone to Trinidad a few days after the trial.

SECRET

taken from
HO 325/143

VII.

KENTISH, Rothwell Wesley @ Roddy
Born: 30.4.31 Jamaica
Address: 28 St. Luke's Mews, Notting Hill,
W.11
Occupation: Unemployed

KENTISH was charged with riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray and having in his possession an offensive weapon (a piece of brick). KENTISH was defended by Mr. Inigo BYNG. In his evidence KENTISH denied that he was in Portnall Road throwing bricks but had joined the demonstration. Allegations that he had invited coloured people to join the march were false. He was acquitted.

2. KENTISH came to the U.K. from Jamaica in December 1957. He is reported to be violently anti-police and prepared to take part in any Black Power demonstrations. He is not thought to be a member of the Black Panther Movement. A charge brought against him in October 1970 of attempting to murder a police officer is still outstanding.

VIII.

[REDACTED] @ IBRAHIM, Chad
Born: 27.1.47 Trinidad
Occupation: Labourer
Address: 29 Ashchurch Grove, W.12.

INNIS was accused of riotous assembly, unlawfully fighting and making an affray, causing grievous bodily harm and assaulting a police constable and having in his possession an offensive weapon (a piece of brick). He was legally represented by James GOUDI. He was convicted of assaulting police officers and sentenced to nine months imprisonment suspended for two years.

2. [REDACTED]

IX.

MILLETT, Godfrey Dominic Francis @ Roy CABOO
Born: 21.5.49 Grenada.
Address: 10 St. Elmo Road, Shepherds Bush, W.12
Occupation: Paint sprayer.

MILLETT was accused of riotous assembly and unlawfully fighting and making an affray. He was legally represented by Leonard WOODLEY. He was acquitted.

2. MILLETT @ CABOO is said to be an associate of militant black extremists in the Notting Hill area.

December 1971

[REDACTED]

Extract 3

taken from
HO 325/143

OF 2093/E5/40

19 January 1972

[REDACTED] MBE

Dear [REDACTED]

I am sorry that I have not written earlier to thank you for your letter of 31 December about the trial of the Mangrove nine.

I think it would be helpful to us to have some notes on the nine individuals concerned. We have police reports on the original incident and the trial, but there is a good deal of Parliamentary interest in the whole affair and it is useful if we are as fully briefed as possible.

Yours sincerely

[REDACTED]
(D H J HILARY)

Mr. Hyman covering

SECRET


Extract 2

taken from

H.O. 325/143

You should perhaps see this.

I am not sure why this should be classified SECRET or described as coming from Secret & delicate sources. Other than x1 in para 3 of the note & possibly para 5, ~~most~~ it has all appeared either in the press or in police reports.



Correspondence to this address must be under double cover.

The outer envelope should be addressed to:—

THE SECRETARY [REDACTED], PARLIAMENT STREET B.O., LONDON, SW1A 2LZ
and not to any individual.

Extract 1

Taken from

H0325/143

230
Telephone Nos. 01-734 6050 Ext.
01-930 6789 Ext.



[REDACTED]
PARLIAMENT STREET B.O.,
LONDON, SW1A 2LZ

Our Ref.: OF 2093/E5/40

Your Ref.:

31st December, 1971

Dear

Mr Hilary,

The Trial of the Mangrove Nine

You may perhaps be interested to have the attached note on the trial of the nine black militants (seven men and two women) popularly known as the Mangrove Nine which took place at the Central Criminal Court from October to December 1971. This note includes information from secret and delicate sources. I can, if you would like this, let you have information on the nine individuals concerned.

2. I also attach a hand-out produced by the Black Panther Movement which provides a good example of their type of propaganda. This was distributed prior to the end of the trial.

3. You may like to note that I have taken on the Black Power desk from [REDACTED]

Yours

Sincerely,

D.H.J. Hilary, Esq.,
Home Office

Enc.

SECRET

SECRET

The Trial of the Mangrove Nine

On Sunday 9th August 1970 a Black Power demonstration took place in the Notting Hill area. Its origins lie in actions taken throughout the summer of 1970 in respect of the Mangrove restaurant an establishment purporting to serve West Indians with their own national dishes but in fact a meeting place and operation centre for local drug pedlars, pones and prostitutes. The demonstration was organised and planned by an Action Committee comprised of black militant extremists in the area and members of the Black Panther Movement. Leaflets advertising the event were circulated among the coloured community and the object of the demonstration was to draw attention to alleged Police harassment of coloured people in the Notting Hill area. In planning the demonstration and before the march started the organisers are said to have stressed again and again that it must be peaceful. Throughout the demonstration there were shouts of "pigs, pigs, get rid of the pigs. Stop black people harassment" and in particular Althea JONES-LECOINTE (Black Panther activist) called for a show of Black Power against the "pig" Police stating that "violence be met by violence, power must be gained in the streets". Incidents arose when the demonstrators made a diversion into a road where there was a large building site full of debris, bricks and pieces of wood which were used to throw at the Police and attack individual Police officers. Nineteen persons were arrested and twenty four Policemen were injured, six requiring hospital treatment. In the main the marchers, some 120, consisted of blacks, thugs and criminals who regularly frequented the Mangrove restaurant.

2. In October 1971 began the trial at the Central Criminal Court of the nine black militants (seven men and two women) popularly known as the Mangrove Nine for their part in the riot in August 1970. All pleaded not guilty to charges of riotous assembly, fighting and making an affray and assault. Throughout the trial the defendants and their representatives were as obstructive as possible. First they demanded an all black jury and when this was refused raised objection to 77 jurors, the maximum number possible, until a jury which included two black men, was finally selected. During the trial fighting broke out in the dock and allegations of racialism and prejudice were banded about. The trial ended on 15th December when five were acquitted and four convicted. Two, Rhodan GORDON and Althea LECOINTE were convicted of causing an affray and three, Althea LECOINTE, Anthony INNIS and Rupert BOYCE were convicted of assaulting Police officers. INNIS and BOYCE were sentenced to nine months imprisonment and GORDON and LECOINTE to fifteen months, all sentences were suspended for two years.

3. The Black Panthers who throughout the trial had canvassed support for the Mangrove Nine from other black extremist and left wing groups and who in the latter stages arranged for picketing outside the Central Criminal Court were extremely surprised and highly delighted with the result, for clearly they expected harsher treatment. At the end of the case a remarkable celebration is said to have taken place with jurors buying the acquitted defendants drink. The two black jurors are known to have been taken to the Black Panther Headquarters for a celebration.

4. Much publicity for the Mangrove Nine appeared in leftwing/Black Power extremist journals including "Babylon", a recent Black Power publication put out by the Revolutionary People's Communications Network, Algiers/New York under the editorship of Eldridge CLEAVER of the U.S. Black Panthers.

5. Following the trial a Mangrove Trial Defence Committee has been set up to which monies have been contributed by several left groups including the Spartacus League (Trotskyists).

December 1971

18 AUG 1970 1 - 70. Press cuttings. (transferred to 127)

71 + 72. - Copies of protest issued by Anthony Mchipp.

73 - 88 - Press cuttings. (see 127)

89, 89A - Special Branch funds. copy of S.B. Report
(Conf.) dealing with the demonstration on Sunday,
9th August.

90. - Note by Mr Waddell to S of S. enclosing
report (89, above).

91, + A + B. - Mr Waddell to S of S. funding an
assessment by Commander Neivens, of the
present position. of "Black Power"

Secret.

ED.

Mr McQueen ^{18/8/70} - to see.

Mr Jones.

K. Bond
18.8.70.

92 - Copy note from Mr Howard Drake to Mr Weiler.
dd. 11 August 1970.

93 - Mr Halliday to Mr Waddell about the
interest of Mr Cunningham M.P. in police
relations with coloured people. dd. 11.8.70

94 - Mr Weiler to Lord Windlesham dd. 14.8.70

95 - 131 - Press cuttings (127)

132 - Mr Howard Drake to Mr Waddell enclosing
copy of report by Mr Sam Morris of
the CRC.

133 - Mr Howard Drake to Mr Rawsthorne dd. 17.8.70

134 - Mr Waddell to SOBS dd. 17.8.70

135 - Press cuttings Evening Standard 18.18.70
(see 127)

the
Evi
text
aga-

136 - Note of meeting ~~between~~ ^{between} the Secretary & Dr. Davies
Pitt on 18 August

137 - 19.8.70 - Mr Rawsthorne to Mr Waddell,

138 - ^a 14.8.70 - Comesp. with Rev. David Mason.

139 - 20.8.70 - Mr Howard Drake to Mr Rawsthorne
re Kensington & Chelsea C.V.C.

~~140~~ - Copy article on PC Pulley of Nottingham
Sunday Mirror 23.8.70. (127)

~~141~~ - Copy article Observer Review 23.8.70 (127)

The 19 arrested on 9th August have been
remanded to appear in court on 28 October.
(A7 informed)

A Woolley
21/10/70

140 - 145 - Press cuttings dd. 25.8.70 - 28.10.70

146 - Comesp a note re Lord Wundlesham's meeting
with the Catholic Institute for International
Relations on 23.10.70

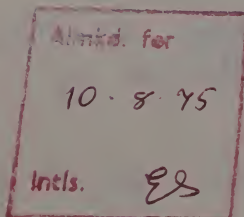
147 - 153 - Press cuttings dd 31.10.70 - 4.11.70

154 - S.B. report dd 31.10.70 re demonstration
in Ladbroke Grove & Nottingham Hill on same date

155 - Press cutting from the Times re address
by the prosecution in court on 31/12/70

Lay By

A. Woolley
15/1/71



For declassification review.

20 JAN 1971 Press cuttings dd. 16 & 17 Jan. 1971,

Lay by. SM Shapley 21/1/71

Reference QPE
69 142/1/21

31/1/72 Correspondence with BOX 500 about the "Mangrove Nine".

22/1/72 Copy of a note for Sir Philip Allen about police/immigrant relations in Notting Hill.

Lay by.

PA

[Signature]
27/6/72

[Signature]
14 8 74

ALWAYS ASKED FOR
29:6:86
<i>[Initials]</i> INITIALS

for declass. review

Mr. Sterlini 74..
..... GPE 142/1/21
..... 69

May the attached file be
de-classified now please?
(H.O.(H.D.) Notice 6/1960 refers)

Sgd.

..... Registry

B/F

Date 10-8-75

..... F Registry

~~YES~~

NO

~~RE-CLASSIFY~~ as
~~Confidential~~
~~Restricted~~

} and re-consider
on 29/6/86

Sgd. JHD Ellis

..... F4 Division

Date 29/6/77

RGY 11(a)

(All minute sheets to be filed
in front of this card)

(All minute sheets to be filed
in front of this card)

File No. QPG/69 142/1/21...

Classified ~~RESTRICTED~~
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
SECRET

Before this file is marked P.A.
please consider whether it can
be de-classified. If it cannot
be de-classified then give below
a date when de-classification
can be reconsidered.

Again on 29/6/86

Sgd. JAD Ellis

Date 29/6/77

RGY.11

2/1/21

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in front of this card)

File No. *QPC/69...142/1/21*

Classified

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Before this file is marked P.A.
please consider whether it can
be de-classified. If it cannot
be de-classified then give below
a date when de-classification
can be reconsidered.

Again on *8/12/86*

Signed *P. Anders*

Date *8/12/82*

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Commissioner of Police

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~~Hilary~~ ^{DKH} 3/11

You may wish to
see, although it's clear
was clearly something
of a flop.

~~2. Dr. Steiner.~~

3. Miss Woolley - for
file per.

J. V. [Signature]

3/11/70.

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SPECIAL BRANCH,
NEW SCOTLAND YARD,
BROADWAY,
LONDON, S.W.1.

RET

Your reference:

Our reference: 400/70/112

With the Compliments of the
Commissioner of Police
of the Metropolis

21/11
D. McQueen Esq.,
Home Office, F.4 Branch.

M.P.(X)

which

with

1970.

CONFIDENTIAL**METROPOLITAN POLICE****SPECIAL BRANCH**

Special Report }

31st day of October 1970

SUBJECT Black
Defence Committee
Demonstration.

Reference to Papers

70/112

400/70/207

Home Office

1. On Saturday 31st October, 1970, I was present with other officers at a march and demonstration, followed by a public meeting which was held in the Ladbroke Grove and Notting Hill areas by the "BLACK DEFENCE COMMITTEE" in furtherance of the Committee's aim to raise funds for the defence of Black people awaiting trial and to air their views regarding "police oppression".
2. The "BLACK DEFENCE COMMITTEE" was formed early this month by the SPARTACUS LEAGUE - the youth section of the INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP - with the obvious intention of gaining the support and sympathy of extremist coloured groups, notably the Black Panther Movement. The Committee first came to the notice of police in the middle of October when a leaflet titled "Hands Off Black People" (see Appx. "A") was circulated in International Marxist Group circles. This was followed by a further pamphlet with the same title and showing a photograph of police officers arresting a resisting coloured man, (see Appx "B") which called upon supporters to "march in solidarity with Black victims of repression" on 31st October 1970. Both pamphlets were published and printed at 182 Pentonville Rd., N.1, headquarters of the I.M.G and Spartacus League.
3. There followed widespread publicity of the march in left-wing journals, circulars and meetings and most left-wing organisations were asked for their support. Students from the universities of Essex, Oxford, Birmingham, the Enfield College of Technology, together with the Notting Hill Peoples Association and various Communist and Maoist groups all pledged their support. Although the Young Communist League promised to give consideration to the matter, indications were that their support would not materialise. Members of the Black Panther Movement were involved in the organisation of the march but it was their view that the demonstration ought to be wholly composed of white people and would probably be ignored by many of their own race. In the event this proved to be a correct assumption. Very few coloured persons participated and very little attention was paid to the demonstration by the many coloured inhabitants of the areas through which the demonstrators marched.

The demonstration

4. The demonstrators began to collect at the entrance to Ladbroke Grove underground station at 10.30 a.m. where they were joined by a group of twelve "Enfield communists" who had earlier gathered at Kings Cross Station. The crowd was composed mainly of white I.M.G. supporters

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from...

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Page No. 2.

from London, Birmingham, Manchester, Coventry, York and students from various universities in London and the Home Counties. No members of the Communist Party of Great Britain or the Y.C.L. were recognised and the International Socialists were noticably absent. Only eight coloured persons took part in the actual demonstration although a number were seen accompanying it for a short while. Prominent among these were Ajoy GHOSH, Roy SAWH, Herman EDWARDS, Chris REID and Rodhan GORDON. The latter was in a green triumph herald motor car index No. DLV 223 C.

5. Before the march Althea JONES-LECOINTE spoke briefly to the demonstrators, now numbering about 260. She said that she welcomed all the people who were about to take part in the demonstration and declared that they were striking a blow for freedom for the Black people this country by showing the police that they could not get away with racialism.

6. At 11.20 a.m. the crowd moved off behind a large black banner bearing the slogan "Hands Off Black People" and made their way to Powis Square via Westbourne Park Road, All Saints Road, McGregor Road, Harrow Road, St. Ervans Road, Ladbroke Road, Notting Hill Gate and Pembridge Villas; passing in turn Harrow Road, Notting Dale and Notting Hill police stations at which the chanting of slogans increased appreciably in volume although they made no attempt to stop or bait the police present. The "Internationale" was sung on four separate occasions during the march. They reached Powis Square without incident and entered the Adventure Playground where a meeting commenced at 1.40 p.m.

7. The chairman Mr. Peter GOWAN merely stated that the object of the demonstration was to draw public attention to police repression of coloured people in the Notting Hill area, led a chant of "racialists out - black power in" and made way for the first speaker Albert MANCHANDA.

8. The latter speaking through an inefficient loud hailer said that the position in this country had reverted to that which existed during the second world war when the Nazis oppressed the Jews and other European races. A similar situation now existed in Notting Hill and other areas where the police were engaged in suppressing coloured people. This was part of British government policy, to create second-class citizens in their general fight to maintain white supremacy.

9. Black people and the working class must unite and all who sympathised should join in with them he said. The imperialist government of this country oppressed not only the black people but all the British workers as well and only unity would overcome this repression. He concluded by saying that Black people must fight against all forms of prejudice and injustice.

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10. The second speaker was not identified but announced that he was a representative from Kent University Students Union. He declared that his university had donated £10 to the Black Defence Committee to assist with the legal costs of coloured people arrested during the Notting Hill demonstration in August this year. Continuing he said that the small number present at today's demonstration gave no indication of the many thousands of workers and students throughout the country who felt strong indignation at police harassment of coloured people in this and other areas. (Description of speaker: aged about 20 years, 5'7", slim build, fair, shoulder length hair, clean shaven, blue eyes.)

11. A third speaker who was also unidentified, spoke briefly about financial support for the Black Defence Committee and said that expressions of solidarity with the coloured people were all very well but money was needed to pay lawyers to defend them in the forthcoming trial of "Mangrove Restaurant supporters". (Description of speaker: Aged about 35 years, 5'10", slim build, black hair, sallow complexion, black moustache, wearing dirty-white knitted woolen hat.)

12. John SUDDABY said that white socialists and militants would no longer stand by and see Black people in this country suffer oppression. The Spartacus League did not see this as the end of the campaign but the beginning and for the campaign to grow it would be necessary to have a coherent analysis of what was going on amongst Black people so far as police repression was concerned. There was, he said, a racial war going on in Notting Hill and everyone knew that there was a large racist core in the police force. Some people had suggested that the Tory Government was racist but the Labour Government had first instituted the infamous immigration laws and were not themselves blameless. The repression of Black people and students as evidenced by recent police activities at Cambridge would only bring them together in the common struggle. The Spartacus League pledged its support for the working class and all Black people.

13. Owen LEACH, a coloured speaker from Birmingham, in a generally incoherent speech, thanked the participants for their expression of solidarity with the oppressed black people of the area. He hoped that their example would bring to the notice of white people in this country the sufferings of their black brothers at the hands of the racist police.

14. Stephen MARKS (International Socialist from the Midlands) declared that today's demonstration marked the beginning of a large scale solidarity campaign by white revolutionaries. He suggested that the demonstration had not been hampered by police because the participants were predominantly white. He ended by stating that the fight would not cease until black people in the area were again free to demonstrate without fear of intimidation or disruption by the police.

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15/- The chairman..

CONFIDENTIAL

15. The chairman closed the meeting at 2.10 p.m. by announcing that the I.M.G. intended to hold a picket outside Marylebone Magistrates' Court on 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 11th November 1970 during proceedings against persons who were arrested at the Notting Hill demonstration by Black Power organisations on 9th August, 1970. He urged all those present to attend. He also announced that the National Front intended to hold a national conference at Wolverhampton on 28th November 1970 and called upon all opponents of Fascism to make their way to that city on that date in order to express their disapproval of their policies.

16. The attitude of the demonstrators throughout the proceedings was orderly becoming apathetic towards the end of the meeting. A large number of them walked away whilst the speeches were still being made and many of them paid scant attention to the platform. When the meeting terminated only about 50 persons remained. It was obvious that the demonstration had been a disappointment to them.

17. Copies of leaflets handed out during the meeting are attached herewith. They are:-

"How to Fight Repression" published by the Spartacus League and announcing a meeting by that organisation at the Roebuck Public House, Tottenham Court Road, W.1. on 3.11.70 at 7.30 p.m. (Appendix "F")

"We are Marching" a leaflet published by the People's Centre, Clydesdale Rd., W.11. giving the reasons for today's demonstration (Appx.G).

18. Uniformed police were present throughout the proceedings. No disorder occurred and no arrests were made.

19. Appendix "C" contains a list of persons taking part in the demonstration and seen in the vicinity. A list of the banners and slogans used during the march is at Appendix "D". Organisations identified as taking part in the demonstration are shown at Appendix "E".

[Signature]
Chief Inspector.

[Signature]
Chief Superintendent.

(COPY)

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METROPOLITAN POLICE

S.B. No. 1 (Flimsy)

SPECIAL BRANCH

Special Report

9th day of August 1970

SUBJECT Black

Power Demonstration

Reference to Papers

400/68/97

1. This report concerns a demonstration and march by coloured persons against alleged harassment by police, which took place on Sunday, 9th August, 1970 in the Notting Hill, North Kensington and Kilburn areas. About 120 coloured persons took part, considerable violence broke out during the march and 19 persons were arrested. These will all appear at Marylebone Magistrates Court at 10a.m. on Monday, 10th August, 1970. Six uniformed constables received injuries resulting in their being admitted to hospital.

2. The demonstration was organised by Frank CRITCHLOW, a West Indian, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant, 8, All Saints Road, W.11, in protest against alleged police discrimination towards his restaurant, after various visits and searches by police for drugs, and after having been served with a number of summonses for serving refreshments after hours without a licence. For some days previously, various posters had been displayed in the windows of the restaurant advertising the demonstration, and leaflets were distributed within the various local West Indian communities, calling for support for the demonstration against 'discriminatory police action'. It was established previously that some support had been promised by Abdul MALIK, alias Michael X, the self-styled leader of Black Power in this country, and the Brixton Chapter of the Black Panthers, headed by 'Eddie' LECOINTE. Ajoy GHOSE, Rhodon GORDON and other members of interested West Indian semi-political groups were also known to have attended pre-planning meetings for this demonstration.

3. From 2.30p.m. on 9th August, demonstrators gathered outside the Mangrove Restaurant, and at 3p.m. they were addressed briefly by Althea JONES-LECOINTE, a coloured woman (who was later arrested - see appendix 'A') and an individual, coloured, who could not be identified. JONES-LECOINTE called for a show of 'Black Power' against the 'pig police', who, she claimed, were harassing and oppressing black people. They were using force against the coloured population, she said, and "violence must be met by violence, power must be gained in the streets".

4. At 3.10p.m., accompanied by uniformed police, the demonstrators, mainly young coloured persons, chanting slogans and carrying banners (which are listed in appendix 'C') marched to Notting Dale Police Station, which they found to be protected by a contingent of police, then continued through back streets to Notting Hill Police Station, which was similarly protected. After a brief halt on the opposite side of the road to the Police

Station for a session of shouting abuse at the occupants, the march continued along Ladbroke Grove, Golborne Road, and across Harrow Road, into Portnall Road, W.9. At the junction of Marban Road and Portnall Road, an area predominantly occupied by coloured persons, the first incident took place.

5. A brick was thrown from the upstairs window of a near-by house at the accompanying uniformed police, and they were then set upon by the demonstrators. Bricks, milk bottles and banners were thrown at police, and broken banner handles were used as weapons to attack individual police officers. Police reinforcements were called up, and after about a quarter of an hour of fighting, which resulted in several arrests (see appendix 'A'), a number of the demonstrators moved along Marban Road into Bravington Road, where they re-formed. They continued with their march as far as Shirland Road, where a similar/ of incidents occurred, resulting in further violence when various missiles were used against police and more arrests took place. The situation remained tense for about half an hour, during which time the demonstrators were asked by senior police officers to leave. They gradually dispersed, and by 5.10p.m. the area was clear of demonstrators.

6. It would appear most probable that the seemingly aimless march around the back streets of Ladbroke Grove and Harrow Road was designed to lead the accompanying uniformed police as far from reinforcements and aid as possible before a pre-calculated situation led to their being attacked by the demonstrators in a mainly coloured residential area. There can be little doubt that the first incident was contrived as an excuse to attack police, and it will be seen that most of those arrested were young coloured persons who have not previously come to the notice of this Branch, their leaders carefully staying clear of involvement with police. The organisers may well have hoped for assistance from local coloured residents, but this was not forthcoming.

7. Uniformed police arrangements were entirely adequate, and reinforcements, although not openly in evidence, were readily available at all times throughout the march. Had this not been so, a more serious situation might have arisen due to the obvious violent intent of the participants.

(W. A. Hovell)

Inspector

Chief Inspector

Submitted.

CONFIDENTIAL  CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT

'B'

HANDS OFF BLACK PEOPLE



Photo Mary Elgin

WHITE PEOPLE
MARCH IN SOLIDARITY WITH
BLACK VICTIMS OF REPRESSION
11am Saturday OCTOBER 31st

ASSEMBLE

Ladbroke Grove tube ,
Notting Hill Gate.

CONFIDENTIAL

APPENDIX 'C' TO SPECIAL BRANCH REPORT DATED 31ST OCTOBER, 1970
CONCERNING BLACK DEFENCE COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATION

1. Persons identified as taking part in demonstration

Nick BEETON
Robin BONNER

Chris BOTT
Kevin BREHONY
George CLARK

Upali COORAY

John CURRAN

Debby DODGE

Mike EARLE

Sharon EARLE

Sam GLEAN

Peter GOWAN

Valerie GRAHAM

Oscar GREGAN

Joanna GRIFFITHS

Alan HARRIS

Graham Maurice JONES

Althea JONES-LECOINTE

Pat JORDAN

Michael KYRLITSIAS

Helen KYRLITSIAS

Owen LEACH

Christine McKINNON

David McKINNON

Tony MAGUIRE

Albert MANCHANDA

Mike MARTIN

Bob PURDIE

Bernard REANEY

Corin REDGRAVE

William RICHARDSON

Ralph ROSENBAUM

Barbara ROSS

Stephen WARKE

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APPENDIX 'C' continued

Roy SAWH

Caroline SALZEDO

Phil SHIMELD

John SUDDABY

John Stanley WEAL

Marie Theresa WEAL

2. Persons identified as being in vicinity of demonstration

Frank CRITCHLOW

Herman EDWARDS

Ajoy GHOSE

Rhodan GORDON

Bridget HARRIS

Vincent HINES

Tom HUTIP

Lugard LEANDER

Chris REID

APPENDIX 'D' TO SPECIAL BRANCH REPORT DATED 31st OCTOBER, 1970

Black Defence Committee- Hands off Black people.

Spartacus League.

Spartacus League - Coventry.

Spartacus League - Birmingham.

International Marxist Group - British Section - Fourth International.

Goldsmiths College Socialist Society.

British Vietnam Solidarity Front.

Victory to the people - N.L.F.

Workers and oppressed people of the World - Unite.

Liberty - Equality - Fraternity.

Black and White - Unite and fight.

Smash police brutality - Smash racism - Victory to peoples power.

Smash Fascism - Smash Racism.

Irish Solidarity Campaign stands with black victims of police oppression.

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APPENDIX 'E' TO SPECIAL BRANCH REPORT DATED 31.10.70. CONCERNING BLACK DEFENCE
COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATION

List of organisations taking part

BLACK DEFENCE COMMITTEE
ENFIELD COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY
ENFIELD COMMUNIST PARTY
GOLDSMITH'S SOCIALIST SOCIETY
INTERNATIONAL MARXIST GROUP
IRISH SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN
NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES
NOTTING HILL PEOPLES' ASSOCIATION
SPARTACUS LEAGUE
SPARTACUS LEAGUE - BIRMINGHAM
SPARTACUS LEAGUE - COVENTRY
BRITISH VIETNAM SOLIDARITY FRONT

HOW TO FIGHT THE REPRESSION?

The Spartacus League commits itself to the fight against racist attacks on black people.

How should this fight be conducted? What direction should the movement go in after this demonstration?

Why the Repression?

Of course the repression which has brought us out on the streets is not simply a Notting Hill problem; it cannot be explained simply in terms of the nature of the police in this area, or the conditions here. Repression of black people is taking place all over the country. Secondly, repression is being directed not only at the black population, but at the Irish militants and the revolutionary groupings. The attacks on black people are simply the most brutal and blatant examples of a general turn on the part of the state towards cracking down on the democratic rights won by the labour movement over long years of struggle.

Are the Tories the Cause?

Some people say the reason is that the Tories won the election. Certainly, the election result has boosted the moral of racist and fascist elements, many of whom are entrenched in the state bureaucracy and the repressive machinery. They now feel able to operate more boldly and openly. But we must remember that the turn to repression started before the election -- the arrests on the Bobby Seale demonstration, of the Cambridge students and Irish militants, etc. As for the Tory anti-working class measures, they are merely a repeat performance of 'In Place of Strife' plus a few extra tit-bits to delight the Tory right-wing.

And yet undoubtedly the pace of repression is growing. The British bourgeoisie looks for a solution to its economic problems: while the economic crisis stemming from the development of competition from rival imperialisms on an international scale sharpens, it is faced with an unprecedented scale of militancy in the workers' movement. The workers are making big gains in increased wages which the British bourgeoisie will have to get back in order to reorganise the industrial and economic structure on a more profitable and competitive basis.

It has tried a number of courses of action. Besides the classical solution of concentration and centralisation of capital, direct attack on the workers' conditions are another answer. The creation of giant corporations and large efficient companies that can be competitive on the world market means 'rationalising' the economy -- this has involved large scale redundancies and necessitated a stronger control over working class organisations with the isolation of its most advanced militants.

In making the workers suffer, the ruling class must make the black workers suffer most severely -- since they are already the most oppressed section of the working class; the danger is for the boss is that the million black workers could rapidly become one of the most advanced sections of the workers in the struggle for equality.

politically. It is necessary to cut back democratic liberties to enable it to defeat the workers movement and thereby cut their living standards. It can help weaken the workers movement by playing in the racist card : using the black people as the scape-goat.

Is Fascism Approaching?

Some comrades see the start of repression in this repression. Of course, some of the methods used by the police are similar to those used by Fascist regimes. But to think that the capitalists are trying to impose a Fascist solution is wrong. The British bourgeoisie's first concern is to solve its industrial and economic crisis and in order to do this the state must learn the methods that have been in practice for a long time already in France, Germany, Italy, the US etc.

What Forces must be Mobilised?

What are the forces that must come out against the mounting repression? Faced with the deliberate tactics of the state to crush any political militancy in whatever oppressed sector of society it might be, there must be a concrete demonstration of solidarity against it. For the working class to achieve its objectives, there must be a unity among the other victims of capitalist state repression -- the black people, the Irish people and students. These are the forces that exist, they must be mobilised and prepared for the struggle and continuing repression.

These are questions which must be analysed and discussed among militant revolutionaries if we are to understand our future strategy.

The SPARTACUS LEAGUE a revolutionary Marxist youth organisation is holding a meeting to discuss this and other questions on

TUESDAY 3RD NOVEMBER at 7.30pm

ROEBUCK PUB, Tottenham Court Rd (Warren St. tube station)

All who are interested and concerned with such questions of organising against the present repression are welcome.

For more details, information on activities and organisation fill in this form and send it to:

Spartacus League
182 Pentonville Road, London N1.
tel. 837 6954

I would like to know more about the Spartacus League and its activity.....

I would like to know more about your campaign against repression and in solidarity with black victims of repression.....

I would like to join the Spartacus League.....

NAME

ADDRESS

TEL:

OCCUPATION

(Tick where appropriate)

WE ARE MARCHING

Because the police harassment of people - especially black people - is not going to stop until this community makes it clear to the police from Notting Hill, Notting Dale and Harrow Road stations that we know what they are like and what they are doing and that we have had enough.

We believe that the police are deeply prejudiced against the black, the young, the poor, anyone who is different. We believe they try to close down places where black people meet.

We see increasing attacks against places such as THE METRO YOUTH CLUB where large numbers of young black people cannot meet without being questioned searched and risking arrest from the police every week. On Friday 23rd October large numbers of plain clothes police tried to provoke trouble outside the club, would not say they were police although they were searching people and threatened to close the club down. THE GARAGES IN ST. LUKES MEWS where the black owners and workers are constantly watched and provoked. A worker is now faced with an attempted murder charge arising out of his arrest for incitement to riot at a demonstration he did not attend. BACKYARD RESTAURANT where people cannot gather outside or inside without being harassed. MANGROVE RESTAURANT which has been regularly raided since January 1969. Six weeks after a march to protest against mounting provocation, the manager has been charged with causing an affray. Nineteen arrests were made on that day. Twenty-five people were remanded at Marylebone Magistrates Court on Wednesday 28th October on bail as high as £325. Black shops and clubs suffer most, but:-

We know the police patrol this area to protect landlords' property and to suppress our anger against bad housing, job discrimination and bad conditions. We are all in this together. We can no longer stand on street corners or enjoy peace in our homes, at parties or at meeting places.

We must not accept this as normal

BROTHERS AND SISTERS - though it seems to be individual policemen who oppress us, it is the whole system - Parliamentary procedure, the Courts, Local Government Officials, business and property laws - which keep us divided and therefore exploit us.

JOIN US TODAY

Saturday October 31st. 11 a.m. March from Ladbroke Grove Tube Station.

Published by the People's Centre, Clydesdale Road, W.11.

See
11

P. 11

**BLACK POWER
DEMONSTRATION
LEADS TO FINES**

Two men were fined and one was cleared at Marylebone Court yesterday on charges arising out of a Black Power demonstration in Paddington on Aug. 9.

Bernard Charnley, 22, of Langdon Park Road, Hornsey, was fined a total of £30 with £11 costs for assaulting Pc Raymond Sharr and using threatening behaviour.

Erroll Pascall, 20, a West Indian painter, of All Saints Road, Notting Hill, was fined £20 with £11 costs for assaulting Pc William Colpitts. A West Indian driver, Cuthbert Pierre, 17, of Wornington Road, North Kensington, was cleared of assaulting an unknown police officer and using threatening behaviour.

Court told of 'kill the pigs' shouts

Banners were used as clubs, and bricks and stones were thrown at police officers during a Black Power demonstration in Paddington on August 9, it was said at Marylebone Magistrates' Court yesterday. Police-constable Paul MacKanness said there were about 500 demonstrators and he heard shouts of "kill the pigs".

Five people arrested in connexion with the demonstration appeared on remand. The sixth made no appearance and a medical certificate was produced.

Three of the five were further remanded until November 11 when six others are due to appear, charged with inciting members of the public present at the demonstration to riot and assault police officers.

Proceedings were held up for nearly two hours yesterday because two police officers were at other courts and one had not appeared. Pearl Thomas, aged 36, hostess, of Downs Park Road, Hackney, was convicted of assaulting Police-constable Ian Giles, possessing a bottle as an offensive weapon, and using threatening behaviour.

P.-c. Giles said he saw Mrs. Thomas throw a bottle into a police cordon. He caught hold of her and she butted him across the bridge of the nose.

Mrs. Thomas said the constable grabbed her around the neck. She was hit on the head with a stick and accidentally struck the officer when she moved her head. At no time did she have a bottle.

Fining Mrs. Thomas £10 with £6 costs and imposing a sentence of two months' imprisonment suspended for a year, Mr. Rupert Rawden-Smith, the magistrate, said: "I am quite satisfied that you carried out a serious assault on this officer."

James Richards, aged 17, machine operator, of Myrtle Road, Acton, was fined £5 and ordered to pay £3 towards his legal aid after being found guilty of assaulting Police-constable John Wilkin. Mr. Richards, who said he had been demonstrating against the closure of the Mangrove Restaurant in Notting Hill, denied throwing the bottle at the constable with a placard.

3 11.70

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Glendon
2/11/70

Whites dominate 'black march'

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

More than 400 people, mostly white and mostly from outside the area, took part on Saturday in a solidarity march to protest against alleged police harassment of black people in Notting Hill, London.

The route, following that of a black march which ended in violence some weeks ago, took them past Notting Dale, Notting Hill, and Harrow Road police stations, where some raised clenched fists in salute.

The march was organised by the "Black Defence Committee," an ad hoc group of far left loyalties including Communist Party members Trotskyists, Maoists, and others and had the support of the People's Centre, a community group in Notting Hill.

Another protest march in London was held yesterday in support of American black militant Angela Davis was an all-white affair.

About 250 protesters marched

from Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, to the American Embassy in Grosvenor Square. Miss Davis is awaiting trial in connection with guns used in a courtroom battle in which a judge died.

A pamphlet by the "Black Defence Committee" accused the police of trying to close down places where black people meet, of "increasing attacks" at a youth club, harassment of two restaurants and provocation at black-owned garages.

It said: "We know the police patrol this area to suppress our anger against bad housing, job discrimination and bad conditions. We are all in this together."

The march on Saturday was intended to demonstrate white solidarity with black people, and was watched from the pavement by a number of black militants. But its lack of black faces puzzled many white onlookers.

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WHITES PROTEST

Chanting slogans such as
"fascist pigs" more than 500
white demonstrators calling
themselves the Black Defence
Committee staged a six-mile
march through West London
yesterday in protest at alleged
police provocation and perse-
cution of black people. The
marchers passed Harrow Road,
Notting Hill and Notting Dale
police stations.

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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific information required.

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The march organised by the Black Defence Committee was against the forthcoming trial of a number of local coloured people arrested after a demonstration over alleged police discrimination against a local restaurant, The Mangrove.

S. Express
1-11-70

THE BLACK
POWER
MARCH-LED
BY WHITES

MORE THAN 200 demon-
strators—almost all white—
marched through Notting
Hill yesterday in a Black
Defence Committee protest
at what they called "police
brutality" in the area.
As they passed Harrow Road
police station they chanted
"Police brutality" and "Hands
off black people." They gave
the clenched-fist Black Power
salute to policemen watching
from windows.
Only four coloured people
joined the march, but many
watched from street corners.
When the marchers reached
Powis Square to hold a meeting
their numbers had risen to
about 300.
A collection was taken to help
pay for the defence of 25 people
charged in connection with a
demonstration at the local
Mangrove Restaurant.

...venter...
who was winched on to the ship
yesterday from a helicopter.

Protest at 'police harassment'

A march protesting against alleged police harassment of black people in Notting Hill takes place in North Kensington today.

The Black Defence Committee organising it, claims it is intended to show solidarity with black people and will largely comprise white people.

Guardian

31 Oct 70

Mr. Shaffrey

H.3 Division

I attach a copy of a note of a meeting which Lord Windlesham had last Friday with members of the Catholic Institute for International Relations. As you will see, Lord Windlesham undertook to write to Mrs. Dummett on one point - the employment difficulties experienced by some UKPH. As you will know, Mrs. Dines has also written about this and I would be grateful for a draft for Lord Windlesham to send Mrs. Dummett in due course.

Lord Windlesham would also be interested to know the position regarding the education of UKPH who are admitted only temporarily (para. 5 of the note), but Lord Windlesham did not promise to write to the Institute about this.

I am sending to Mr. Howard-Drake the material about race relations which Mrs. Dummett handed to Lord Windlesham and to Mr. McQueen the copy of the letter which Mr. Doble handed over.

A. R. RAMTHORNE
Private Secretary
30th October, 1970

THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Note of a meeting held at the Home Office

on Friday 23rd October

PRESENT: Lord Windlesham (in the Chair)

Mrs. A. Dummett)	
Rev. L. Donnelly)	CIIR
Mr. Samuel)	
Mr. Doble)	

Mr. Rawsthorne - Home Office

2. Mr. Donnelly explained that the Catholic Institute for International Relations was the successor to an earlier organisation called "Sword of the Spirit". Its three main concerns were world poverty, aid to developing countries and race relations. The Institute's race relations committee was entirely concerned with race relations in the United Kingdom, but as it possessed only limited funds it had to concentrate on educational work. Mrs. Dummett gave Lord Windlesham one of the Institute's teaching kits for use in schools and colleges of education. Mrs. Dummett added that the Institute was also particularly concerned with the maintenance of family unity and they therefore wished to raise a number of points about the immigration control in view of the considerable influence that immigration policies had on race relations.

Illegitimate West Indian Children

3. Mr. Donnelly said that there seemed to have been a change in policy towards West Indian children whose mothers were in this country, in that the test of "sole responsibility" in paragraph 39 of the Home Secretary's Instructions to Immigration Officers was

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being taken into very strict by the appeals adjudicators. The Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants had taken six such cases to appeal and lost all of them. Mr. Brown added that in the past if the putative father had disappeared or had taken no interest in the child, the practice had been to admit the child. It now seemed that this was not being permitted unless the mother in this country had entirely maintained the child to the extent of having him educated at a boarding school in the West Indies. This caused a good deal of hardship as the mother's motive in coming to the United Kingdom in the first place had generally been to work and give money so that the family could eventually be reunited. Lord Windlesham explained that although they had to consider cases within the framework of the Home Secretary's Instructions to Immigration Officers the appeals adjudicators were otherwise in no way subject to Home Office control. He was not, however, aware of any recent change in policy on the part of the Home Office in this respect but he would check with the Department and let Mrs. Dummett know the position. Mr. Donnelly said that he would ask Mrs. Dines to send Lord Windlesham some background evidence on this point.

Immigration Legislation

4. Mrs. Dummett said that the Institute felt very strongly that some aspects of the Immigration Rules were unjust, particularly those relating to the entry of fiancés. She very much hoped that the proposed immigration legislation would remedy these injustices. Lord Windlesham explained that the Government's Immigration Bill would be accompanied or followed by new White Papers which would set out the detailed practice to be followed as a result of the changes in the immigration control.

United Kingdom Passport Holders from East Africa (UKPH)

5. Mr. Donnelly said that the Institute was completely opposed to the 1968 Act and felt that the Strasbourg decision had been a judgement on the Act as well as on the individual cases. Although only repeal of section 1 of the Act would entirely satisfy them, there were three points of details which he would like to raise:-

- (i) The three month conditions on which UKPH who came without vouchers were admitted made it very difficult for them to obtain a job. Transport, for example, would not employ such people;
- (ii) the refusal to admit wives and children of "queue-jumpers" was causing hardship;
- (iii) those who had managed to bring their children here were not able to get them into state schools.

Lord Windlesham pointed out that whatever view one took of the 1968 Act it had been passed by Parliament and had to be complied with. It would defeat the purpose of the Act if those coming without proper documents were allowed to stay here permanently from the outset, and bring their dependants over when they pleased. In general those who were admitted for three months were given a further extension of six months on application at the end of the initial period; in addition, they were advised that it was open to them to apply for a further extension of stay at the end of that time and he was surprised that London Transport should refuse to employ UKPH admitted on a temporary basis. If Mr. Donnelly cared to send him details he would see that they were looked into. As regards Mr. Donnelly's third point, he had not come across this

/proble

problem before, but he would make enquiries to ascertain the position.

6. On the general issue Lord Windlesham pointed out that there were still between 150,000 and 200,000 UKPH left in East Africa and any large-scale influx could have very serious effects on race relations in this country. Mrs. Dummett said that she thought this figure was greatly exaggerated and that there were only between 50,000 and 60,000 UKPH in East Africa. Lord Windlesham said that this did not accord with his information which was based on detailed enquiries in East Africa. Mrs. Dummett added that the whole history of immigration policy evidenced in the 1962 and 1968 Acts had been one of persistent capitulation to racist pressure. The resulting panic measures had only made the situation worse. Lord Windlesham said that he could not accept that this was so; the problem of UKPH was a direct result of the policies of East African Governments who wished to be rid of all Asians.

The Police and Race Relations

7. Mr. Doble said that from his personal experience as a teacher in a school with a considerable number of West Indian pupils and as a detached youth worker in Paddington and Notting Hill the race relations in that area had greatly deteriorated since the Mangrove Restaurant "riot" at the beginning of August. This was a direct result of police harassment and he thought that there should be an independent enquiry into the incident, which they would be able to provide a dossier of events. He himself had witnessed an incident when the police had beaten up a coloured youth. Mr. Doble passed to Lord Windlesham a copy of a letter which had been sent to the Home Office among others before the demonstration. Mr. Doble added that if the Government sold arms to South Africa the situation

/would

would become immeasurably worse. Lord Windlesham said that he did not think that there was any value to race relations in making an issue of incidents of this kind. He had been most impressed by the way the police had recognised the importance of better race relations and accepted that they had a vital part to play in promoting them. As a result race relations was a prominent element in police training at all levels.

Mrs. Dummett said that she accepted that the police were in a very difficult position, but thought that the establishment of a system of independent enquiries into complaints against the police would be a real blow for civil liberties. Mr. Samuel said that what was needed was a special drive to coloured policemen to work in areas of high immigrant population; if necessary, applicants with slightly lower educational qualifications should be accepted. Lord Windlesham explained that the police were already making great efforts to recruit more coloured policemen, although except for a number of police cadets, the results had been somewhat disappointing.

Private Office

30th October, 1970

Demonstration/Political Statement.

We the Black People of London have called this demonstration in protest against constant police harassment which is being carried out against us, and which is condoned by the legal system.

In particular, we are calling for an end to the persecution of the Mangrove Restaurant of 8 All Saints Road, a restaurant that serves the Black Community.

These deliberate raids, harassments, and provocations have been reported to the Home Office on many occasions. So too has the mounting list of grievances such as raids on West Indian parties, wedding receptions, and other places where Black People lawfully gather.

We feel this protest is necessary as all other methods have failed to bring about any change in the manner the police have chosen to deal with Black People.

We shall continue to protest until Black People are treated with justice by the Police and the Law Courts.

*Anthony M. Whipp; Action Group for the Defence of the Mangrove.
Saveth at Law, c/o 8 All Saints Road, London W.11.*

Copies have been sent to:

Home Office,
Prime Minister,
Leader of the Opposition,
High Commissioners of Jamaica,
Trinidad, Guyana & Barbados.

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Panthers criticise police

By our own Reporter

Members of the Black Panther movement in London yesterday called a press conference to complain of what they believe to be a conscious campaign to "pick off" black militants. They said there was an effort to "intimidate, harass, and imprison" black people prepared to go out on the streets and demonstrate.

The gist of the complaints was that the police used demonstrations as an opportunity to pick off people already known; that they charged people long after the alleged offences, and that they arrested black people in demonstrations or assemblies where white people would not normally be arrested.

A Scotland Yard spokesman said yesterday: "The police are completely impartial in administering the law. The police can only effect an arrest within the confines of the law and any such arrest must be justified before a magistrate."

Guardian

28-10-70

Morning Star

28.10.70

Offensive against black people, say Panthers

Morning Star Reporter

TWO YOUNG members of the Black Panther movement yesterday accused the British Government and police of having mounted a deliberate offensive against the black people of this country.

Speaking at a London Press conference, they spoke of harassment of black people, of arbitrary arrests, of physical assaults by the police and of the increasing use of riot charges against known militants.

As a prelude to the Tory Government's plan to make coloured immigrants aliens, they said, the police have recently been arresting black citizens who have been here for 12 or more years and demanding to see their passports.

Among recent instances of alleged victimisation they mentioned:

(1) The case of a black man who had seven ribs broken by the police after he had complained that they had kicked a pregnant woman during a raid on a private party;

(2) The cases of several black youths who had been given prison sentences on first offences;

(3) The growing practice of charging black people for alleged offences in connection with demonstrations up to two months after the demonstrations have taken place;

(4) The use of police dogs in raids on black people's premises.

One of the Black Panthers, Shirley, said: "This sort of thing is happening to black people every day and it is not being reported.

"Repression is going on unnoticed and is being sanctioned by many people because they don't know what is happening."

Mary said white people should be concerned. "This is an offensive against the black people and the working population as a whole."

A solidarity demonstration with the black people of Notting Hill has been organised by local white residents for Saturday. It will start from Ladbroke Grove Tube Station at 11 a.m.

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Picket of 'racialist police'

By our own Reporter

The Campaign Against Racial Discrimination in Brent, North London decided last night to picket four police stations in the borough every weekend in protest at the refusal of two senior officers to discuss a dossier alleging persistent police intimidation of black people.

The officers first agreed to attend a CARD meeting, then changed their minds when they discovered individual allegations would be raised.

The dossier complains of harrassment of black people on minor charges, planting of evidence, and assaults in police stations. The stations chosen by 70 CARD supporters for picketing are Kilburn, Harlesden, Wembley, and Willesden.

Fire kills two

COMMUNITY

G. POIT - Chairman Monday Club.
1-53 Victoria Street, S.W.1. Aug. 24.

Mr. Frank Crichtow, proprietor of the Mangrove, has been well known to me for some 15 years. He is a highly responsible Trinidadian of excellent

Let all this not be taken as an attack on the police. I am not, and never have been, a "copper-hater"—an attitude

Yours faithfully,
COLIN MacINNES.
Care of MacGibbon and Kee, Limited,
1 Upper James Street, W.1.

The police must be given the support must be seen to be fighting now, before the present develops into something serious. Yours faithfully,

"Brackenwood". Eastcote 100
Road, Pinner, Middx, Aug. 23.

Race group tell of Black Power threats

By JOHN KEMP, *Social Services Correspondent*

FOLLOWERS of Michael X, the militant Black Power leader, threatened to occupy offices of the Community Relations Commission and threatened staff after the commission failed to send a 100-guinea cheque for 50 booklets, it was claimed yesterday.

Commission staff were reluctant to discuss the incident, but a spokesman confirmed that there had been an "ugly scene" at the premises in Russell Square.

The affair was not reported to police and no action was taken against the Black Power supporters concerned.

Mr. James Chalmers, a member of the commission, and wife, Christopher Chalmers, director of Policy and Telecommunications, said: "It was not reported. I think for fairly obvious reasons."

"In the complex area of race relations one would naturally of this kind as much as you can."

Report from Cousins

She had received a report on the incident from the cousin of the commission's Mr. Frank Cousins, who claimed that there had been a "very ugly scene" at the premises.

"The whole matter is of great concern," Mr. Cousins said. "The commission has not informed me of the details of it and I am sure of it."

"I have been told that the report was made by a member of the commission."

A spokesman of the Black House, a militant Black Power group, said that Michael X was not of the opinion of the commission. He would not discuss his whereabouts.

The spokesman added: "There may have been a misunderstanding about what took place. We are surprised the commission has described it as 'an ugly situation'."

'No strong arm tactics

"We deny the account of this. This suggests that people of the Black House are prepared to use violence to achieve a simple objective. This is not true."

He added that representatives from the Black House had gone to discuss the matter in a "very friendly way." He had not been informed of any incident.

"We deny all suggestions of any strong arm tactics."

The spokesman said that the Black House had received an account of the incident from The Daily Worker, a newspaper. Several representatives of the Black House had been in the office of the commission.

The booklets about the Black House were described as "very friendly."

Continued on Back P. Col. 6

BLACK POWER By JOHN KEMP

Continued from Page 1

House of Commons was ordered to be closed at 10.30 and Mr. West was told that the House was closed at 10.30.

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The Black House was closed at 10.30 and Mr. West was told that the House was closed at 10.30.

c.c. Mr. Waddell
Mr. Wright

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Min Worsley
Mr. Waddell

RDI/70 158/5/7

cc Mr Waddell
Mr Wright

Mr Rawsthorne

Lord Windlesham has asked whether the Community Relations Commission could second a member of its own staff to work in Kensington and Chelsea pending the appointment of a new CRO.

I do not think this would be a practicable proposition. The community relations officers are the servants of the local community relations councils and cannot operate without their full support. An outside person would have no chance of success, least of all I suspect a member of the Commission's staff.

I have heard to-day that the Kensington Borough Council has decided that it can wait no longer for the Inter-Racial Council to put its affairs in order and is proposing to promote a new Community Relations Council. They have been in touch with the Commission about this and Miss Peppard and Mr Morris will be seeing the Town Clerk in the next day or so to discuss the details. Miss Peppard tells me that in the circumstances in Kensington and Chelsea they support the Borough Council's proposal to set up a new voluntary organisation.

J T A Howard-Drake
20 August 1970

c.o. Mr. Waddell
Mr. Wright

15/5 1-12C

ROAD,
NG HILL,
ONDON, W.11

1970.

Mr. Howard-Drake

Il. Division

*Mr. McQueen
- H. Jones*

*Seen 18/8
H. Jones: 19/8*

Thank you for your note of 17th August
about the absence of a community relations
officer in Kensington and Chelsea.
Lord Windlesham has commented:-

"It is most unfortunate that this petty
squabble has prevented Kensington
and Chelsea from having a CRO working
in Notting Hill for so many months.
Is there any possibility of the CRC
loaning a member of its own staff to
work in this vital area until a new
appointment is made?"

I would be grateful for your advice.

A. R. RAWSTHORNE
Private Secretary
19th August, 1970

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Home Office,
Whitehall, S.W.1.

1-12C
DAD,
NG HILL,
ONDON, W.11

19 August, 1970

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Mr. Jones
Mr. McQuinn
Miss Woolley



Thank you for troubling to write to tell me of
people who are active in community relations work
in Notting Hill.

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(sgd.) REGINALD MAUDLING

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... if there

The Reverend David Mason

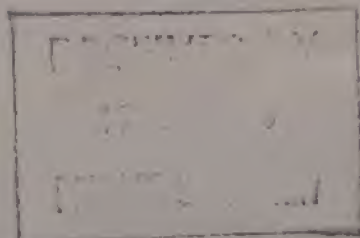
Reginald Maudling, P.O., N.F.

TELEPHONE 01-727 3118

THE REVEREND DAVID MASON

9 DENBIGH ROAD,
NOTTING HILL,
LONDON, W.11

15th August 1970.



Dear Mr. Maudling,

I am writing you as a result of the clash that took place last Sunday, August 9th, between the police and some elements of the black community, arising out of the incidents at the Mangrove Restaurant in Notting Hill. It so happens that I am Vice-Chairman of the Kensington and Chelsea Inter-racial Council, which, as you will know from your reports, is temporarily in abeyance. However, later this month it is intended to call a meeting of the executive, and to begin the work again, and to appoint a full-time experienced Community Relations Officer. My great regret is that I shall be out of England during this crucial time in Notting Hill, engaged, as you know, on work in Uganda with regard to members of the Asian community who are holders of U.K. passports. I thought you would like to know of the likely appointment of a Community Relations Officer for the Notting Hill area.

Again, I think it is important to tell you that my colleague, Donald Chesworth, who is the Secretary of the Inter-racial Council, will be available here in Notting Hill while I am away. You would also like to know that Roy Sawh, the Black Power leader, is playing a very constructive and helpful role in damping down the local situation, as Chief Inspector Norman Dean can corroborate. I feel guilty, as I say, at being away at this time, but certainly Donald Chesworth and Roy Sawh are very reliable people for guidance and advice, if there should be any further incident.

Yours sincerely,

David Mason

The Rt. Hon. Reginald Maudling, P.C., M.P.

11. 11. 1970
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c.c. Mr. Wright
Mr. Howard-Drake

Mr. Waddell

Lord Windlesham has seen a copy of your note of 12 August to the Home Secretary about Black Power and has commented:-

"I have read the report on Black Power forwarded to the Secretary of State by Mr. Waddell with interest. I have three questions on this:-

1. are the Black Power organisations only supported by West Indians and immigrants from West Africa, or do they also include Asians from India, Pakistan or East Africa?
2. are there any militant organisations outside London?
3. I believe it would be extremely unwise for the Community Relations Commission to aid the "Black House" in any way at all."

I would be grateful for your advice on this.

A. R. RAWSTHORNE

Private Secretary

19th August, 1970

NOTE OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE HOME SECRETARY AND
DR. DAVID PITT AT 3.30 P.M. ON 18TH AUGUST 1970

Min Waddell

Present: Home Secretary
Dr. David Pitt
Mr. Waddell
Mr. Halliday

The Home Secretary welcomed this opportunity for a discussion with Dr. Pitt about community relations.

YOUNG PEOPLE

Dr. Pitt began by saying that there were undoubtedly certain criminal elements at work whose aim was to damage community relations, and that unfortunately they were exercising considerable influence over young people. It was therefore important to isolate these elements and to take steps to protect young people from them. He would like to see unattached youth workers appointed to Community Relations Committees working not only in the recreational but also in the employment field. He mentioned that the Department of Employment had only recently agreed to follow up placements of young coloured people in jobs every six months for three to four years to check on how long young coloured people kept the jobs that were found for them.

POLICE

Dr. Pitt said that as a Magistrate he had seen how conflict between the police and coloured people could arise. A police officer might make an uncivil approach which aroused resentment. The coloured person would then refuse to answer questions and when asked to accompany the officer to the police station would decline. When the officer then took steps to take the person to the police station a struggle would ensue and the coloured person would be charged with obstructing a police officer in the course of his duty. A defence in respect of this charge was impossible.

/Dr. Pitt

Dr. Pitt remained convinced that the problem was one of the attitude of the police officer. At a recent conference of community relations officers a number of suggestions for dealing with this problem had been put forward.

(a) More Coloured Police - Dr. Pitt acknowledged that it was not going to be easy to recruit more coloured police until the general climate improved. In answer to a question from the Home Secretary he confirmed that it would be desirable for West Indian officers to police West Indian areas. He agreed with Mr. Waddell that it was wise to attempt to recruit young coloured people in groups of half a dozen or so so that they could support each other through the training period and the early years on the beat and be given proper consideration as a group by the force which they had joined. Dr. Pitt agreed with the Home Secretary's suggestion that it might be easier to recruit young coloured people from areas where racial tension was lowest, even if one had to persuade them to move to areas where tension was higher for them to perform their police duties. Another possibility was to recruit young people from the West Indies themselves, Dr. Pitt suggested from Barbados where educational standards were highest.

(b) Liaison with Community Relations Officer - The conference had suggested that police officers should be seconded to work with a community relations officer. Officers should be seconded to areas where they had not been working previously, but to which they might be posted subsequently. The idea of a coloured liaison officer being available at police stations to mediate between the police and coloured prisoners had been rejected by the conference, as had the suggestion that police posted to areas where community relations were bad should be more carefully sifted. The Home Secretary mentioned that it was in any case necessary for police officers to be posted to areas most suited to their qualities. Dr. Pitt mentioned that the existing police liaison officers should be used more often and brought in at once when a coloured prisoner was being difficult at a police station.

(c) Records - Dr. Pitt suggested that whenever a person in police custody asked for permission to see or get in touch with someone else the fact of his asking should be recorded. He also asked that all cases of obstruction should be specially recorded by the police, showing the events which led up to the charge. For their part community relations officers wished to record complaints against the police so that they could submit an analysis of them and their outcome to the Community Relations Commission.

(d) Complaints - Finally, Dr. Pitt confirmed that he and the community relations officers would strongly favour the introduction of an independent element into the machinery for investigating complaints against the police. It would be a useful beginning if all the papers at the end of a police enquiry into a complaint could be shown to an independent lawyer, who could comment on and discuss them with the appropriate senior officer in the police force and in due course express his satisfaction with the outcome.

THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION

(i) Community Relations Officers - Answering a question from the Home Secretary, Dr. Pitt said that the calibre of community relations officers was poor. He did not have the quality of people he would have liked, but the more recently recruited assistant community relations officers were better qualified and much more promising.

(ii) Publicity - Dr. Pitt agreed that television, and particularly the press, were very unhelpful in the community relations field. This was especially disappointing since television could do a very good job; for example, in presenting coloured people in ordinary situations in programmes. He agreed that confrontations between extremists did no good whatsoever.

(iii) United Nations Year Against Racial Discrimination - Dr. Pitt

mentioned that 1971 had been nominated as the year for commemorating the United Nations declaration against racial discrimination and he felt that this provided innumerable opportunities for the Commission and the Government to publicise the need for good community relations. He hoped the Home Office would agree to be represented on the Commission's Working Party which was considering suggestions for marking the United Nations Year.

Private Office

20th August, 1970

c.c. Mr. Rawsthorne
Mr. Finlayson
Mr. Waddell
Mr. Weiler
Mr. Wright
Mr. Howard-Drake
Mr. James

S of S

BLACK POWER

Your talk tomorrow with Dr Pitt was meant to be a personal occasion but it has evidently been regarded by someone who has briefed the press on behalf of the Commission as "a meeting with Commission officials" or even as a deputation. Dr Pitt has evidently also referred publicly to the possibility of moving some police officers from their posts and to the importance of setting up an independent complaints procedure (a point on which Mr Ben Whittaker has spoken over the weekend). These on the whole are points Dr Pitt might better have made to you before making them publicly. He also speaks of the need to involve the Commission to a greater extent in the training of police officers. On this point I have rather more sympathy with him and there should in practice be no difficulty about meeting his request.

In preparation for your talk with Dr Pitt and, for that matter, with Mr Cunningham tomorrow morning and Mr Cousins on Wednesday, I attach the papers I gave you a few days ago about Black Power; and I also attach papers which show what we are doing about police training in race relations. The short point there is that we have just set up an authoritative working party which will review the training given to the police on race relations. The papers which I attach set out what is done now; and, as I said this morning, it amounts to a good deal although it could no doubt be extended and possibly better directed.

I have not yet received the Commission's appreciation of the events in Notting Hill a week ago. If anything further reaches me this evening, I will send it forward.

966

Copies to: Sir Philip Allen
Mr Wright ✓
Mr Howard-Drake.

17 August 1970

cc Mr Waddell
Mr Wright

HDI/70 158/5/7

Mr Rawsthorne

In his minute of 14 August Mr Weiler said I would let Lord Windlesham have a note on the absence of a community relations officer in Kensington and Chelsea.

2. I attach a copy of a summary note prepared by the Community Relations Commission. This shows that both the Commission and the Borough Council have done their best to get the Inter-Racial Council on to a proper basis and are prepared to co-operate fully if it accepts perfectly reasonable conditions.

3. Other detailed papers we have in the Division show clearly that the Commission and the Borough Council have taken much trouble in their efforts to get the Inter-Racial Council to behave responsibly. These efforts have been frustrated by the Inter-Racial Council itself whose chairman, Mr Frank Bailey, is a West Indian militant and much of whose activity is unhelpful, in particular to relations between immigrants and the police.

4. Mr Cummings, the community relations officer who resigned, is well spoken of and is now the CRO with the Croydon Council for Community Relations.

J T A Howard-Drake
17 August 1970

ENCL

Mr Windlesham
Mrs Woolley

KENSINGTON AND CHELSEA INTER-RACIAL COUNCIL

The Kensington and Chelsea Inter-Racial Council was formed early in 1966. Mr James Cummings was appointed Community Relations Officer in Kensington and Chelsea. During the period of his appointment with the Council he experienced some difficulty in his relationship with the Inter-Racial Council, and in October 1969 he resigned his post. Prior to Mr Cummings' departure from the Council no application was submitted to the Commission for renewal of grant-aid for the salary of a community relations officer by the IRC. Also at this time the Commission was in the process of regularising grant-aid to community relations councils, and a document laying down "Conditions of Grant-aid to community relations councils" had been circulated to community relations councils for acceptance before the basic grant of £1500 could be increased to cover the full salary of the officer. Up until the time of Mr Cummings' departure in October 1969 no acceptance of these conditions had been received. Shortly afterwards the Development Branch received a visit from the Chairman of the IRC, Mr Frank Bailey and the Vice Chairman, Mrs Bullivant. A formal acceptance of the Commission's Conditions was promised, together with the appropriate Executive Committee minutes, but none was received at that time. After the Community Relations Officer's resignation, the Development Officer met officers of the Borough Council who expressed their admiration of the Community Relations Officer's work, their concern and dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Inter-Racial Council and their readiness to help financially and to co-operate fully with any borough-based Community Relations Council which could be seen to have full organisational support and credibility in the Borough.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Kensington and Chelsea Inter-Racial Council held on 11 November 1969 notification was given by the Borough Council of the terms under which it would henceforth be prepared to provide grant-aid, as indicated in a letter to the Commission.

- 1 that the office of Chairman of the Kensington and Chelsea Inter-Racial Council, and of the Executive Committee, be held by Borough Council representatives
- 2 that the Commission's model constitution and conditions for grant-aid be accepted by the Inter-Racial Council
- 3 that the Inter-Racial Council register as a charity.

A number of witnesses present at the Annual General Meeting confirmed that it was disorderly and uncontrolled, but the consensus of opinion was that the meeting refused to accept the Borough Council's conditions and the Commission's conditions of grant-aid. The Deputy General Secretary of the Commission was unable to give his talk as the officially invited speaker. Attempts were made to elect an Executive Committee; this was done in such disorder as to cast doubt on the validity of the elections and no witnesses seemed to know for certain the complete list of 'elected' members. The present constitution provides for the Executive Committee to appoint the officers from among its members and it is understood that at a meeting called at short notice soon afterwards the following officers were elected:

Chairman Mr Frank Bailey
Vice Chairman Rev David Mason, Chairman Notting Hill Social Council
Secretary Mr Donald Chesworth, Director Notting Hill Social Council
Treasurer Mrs Dora Bullivant, International Secretary No 11

In February 1970 the Field Work Committee met the following representatives of the Inter-Racial Council: Mr Frank Bailey, Rev David Mason, Mr Donald Chesworth, Miss Percy Jeffreys and Mrs Dora Bullivant. At this meeting the following main points were discussed.

Relations with the Borough Council

Representatives of the Inter-Racial Council said that they had been asked to accept two conditions by the Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council before grant-aid could be approved.

- a that they accept the Commission's conditions of grant-aid
- b that the Chairman of the Inter-Racial Council be a person nominated by the Borough Council

The Inter-Racial Council was prepared to accept the Commission's conditions of grant-aid. They were also prepared to accept that the Chairman may be a representative of the Borough Council but not that he be nominated by them.

Constitution

The Field Work Committee asked that the constitution be amended so that not more than one third of the members be individual members.

At this meeting the Field Work Committee agreed

- a that the Inter-Racial Council be asked to submit a detailed list of member organisations so that this could be studied in detail by the Commission
- b that a meeting between the Field Work Committee and the representatives of the Borough Council be held
- c that approval of grant-aid following these investigations and meetings would only be made if strict conditions were attached concerning the running of the Inter-Racial Council particularly as regards the relationship between the Council and a Community Relations Officer.

The meeting between the Field Work Committee and representatives of the Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council was held in March 1970. The representatives of the Borough Council being Alderman Mrs John Walford, Councillor Sir Malby S Crofton and Councillors Tanner and Machol (representatives on the Inter-Racial Council). At this meeting it was agreed that an attempt should be made to retain the present Inter-Racial Council rather than trying to form a new community relations council, as had been suggested at one stage. The Borough Council would be prepared to grant-aid the Inter-Racial Council when the following conditions had been accepted.

- 1 the Commission's draft Constitution be adopted by the Inter-Racial Council

- 2 the Borough Council representation be increased from 3 to 7 members and so provided for in the Constitution
- 3 The Kensington and Chelsea Inter-Racial Council be made more broadly based to include membership of every possible relevant organisation and group in the Borough

The Borough Council, upon the acceptance of these conditions would be prepared to grant-aid the Inter-Racial Council and would participate actively in its work. It would not continue to insist on the Chairman being a Borough Council member.

Following this meeting the Inter-Racial Council submitted a list of member organisations to the Commission, and in July 1970 Mr Donald Chesworth visited the Commission to discuss the question of grant-aid. He promised that the conditions as laid down by the Commission and the Borough Council will be accepted, and it was agreed at this meeting that the Inter-Racial Council should go ahead and advertise for a new officer. To date no such advertisement has appeared, and no further communication has been received from the Inter-Racial Council.

13 August 1970

Mr MacQueen 18/8 N. Jones
(To put on file
in return).

cc to Lord

Mr. MacQueen

Mr. Jones

17/8
Reference 17/80 15/8/87

Mr. MacQueen

It would be moving about the information which we are
looking for the Community Relations Commission to do only about the
current situation in Britain and about questions of police/
immigrant relationships and the latest developments in race
relations generally.

2. The first contribution has now arrived. This is a note by
Mr. Ham Morris, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Commission,
about police/immigrant relations. It is in response to a
request of mine to him last week - in line Penner's absence on
a much interrupted holiday - but a general assessment of the
Commission of the implications of the recent Black Power
manifestations. It is a most disappointing document and merely sets
out one view of the recent incidents in Islington and Finsbury, makes
the usual allegations about the police and the usual
recommendations for action.

3. Unsatisfactory though it is in itself as a considered analysis
of the present situation, it emphasises the importance which
relationships between the police and the coloured communities is
again assuming in all that we are trying to do. Whatever the
facts, and in spite of all the real progress which has been made
over the last year or so and the very considerable efforts by the
police to improve their relationships with coloured people, recent
events have made it clear that these are still unsatisfactory and
unless we get them right we shall get very little else right -
certainly so far as the young West Indian community is concerned.

4. The Secretary of State will no doubt wish to discuss this
when he sees Dr. Pitt. I hope before then to have a report on
the meeting which the Commission held on Friday with the London
community relations officers. I expect this to reinforce what I
say above about police/immigrant relationships and that those
living locally will have told the Commission of the very considerable
importance it has to the work they are trying to do.

5. If this report has not arrived by the time the Secretary of
State sees Dr. Pitt he may like to ask him for an oral account of it.

6. I wonder whether the Secretary of State might wish to consider
asking Dr. Pitt whether there would be any advantage in he - the
Secretary of State - seeing the group of community relations
officers himself. He will not, of course, get an entirely unbiased
account of what has been going on and some of the community
relations officers are pretty militant characters, but it might
perhaps give the Secretary of State something of the feel of what
the CROs are thinking and how they see the situation on the ground.
I think it would be important that any such meeting should be
convened through the Commission in order to preserve their central
position.

7. As I mentioned to you on the telephone, I think the events of
the last week have not only brought us to a critical moment in race
relations generally; they have also brought us to something of a
critical point in the long saga of the Commission itself. If they
come well out of the present situation - making their views about the
police known where they have good reason for concern but maintaining
a generally responsible attitude towards the community at large,
they may perhaps establish themselves at last as having a real part
to play. If they simply throw in their lot with militants or
decide to stand a little aloof from the current fuss, the worst
suspicions of their critics about their general ineffectiveness
will be confirmed.

Report on Police/Migrant Relationships

Over the past two or three weeks, the country has been widely awakened by fresh accounts of violent incidents occurring between certain sections of the black communities and their white friends on the one hand, and members of the police on the other. Allowing for the now accepted fact of gross exaggeration on the part of the information media of incidents of this kind, there must have been a basis of fact on which this exaggeration was built.

It is encouraging that the Home Office is taking more than an academic interest in the matter, but one must ask if a true assessment of the situation could be made by treating an individual incident in isolation. One must wonder if great care should not be taken to differentiate clearly between symptoms, which these incidents are, and the disease itself, which is the underlying cause producing such symptoms.

Symptoms:

Islington - A short account of what took place on 27 July 1970.

A fairground was within about five minutes walk of the police station. Two coloured youths at the fair were having an argument (the police were there, merely as a matter of routine). It was reported to them that one of the young people had a knife - he was searched - no knife was found. One of them however had a bag in which was a radio. The police were not satisfied with the explanation they received and proceeded to take them to the police station. By this time a group had gathered and followed them.

While this was going on someone phoned the Black House which is a sort of Community Centre for black people in the area, and within 15 or 20

minutes a crowd was at the station. It is an area where there are many youngsters and two or three clubs, so that it is not difficult to have a gathering in a very short space of time.

Eight people were arrested and the crowd filled the station; police called reinforcements. It is thought that some of the boys concerned were known to the police and had been in trouble before. The Community Relations Officer and his Chairman were quickly on the scene and were at the Police Station until 3.30 the following morning. They saw Chief Inspector Hunt (Islington), Inspector Spence (Caledonian Road) and Commander Mitchell (Kings Cross). The CPO also attended the Court the following day and witnessed the press encouraging young people to give the Black Power salute for the purposes of being photographed.

The Police have been making friendly efforts to meet with the youngsters in their clubs and it is most unfortunate that this was reported by the press, BBC and TV in the way that it was. To quote Mr Chris St Hill, the Community Relations Officer for Islington "It all arose from a small incident and, had it involved white youngsters, might have gone unnoticed, but it was blown up by the gathering together of the crowd and the press and cameras that were quickly on the scene."

Pedlington - Sunday afternoon, 9 August

A procession of less than 150 mostly black people set out on a peaceful march, a march not only known about and allowed by the authorities, but conducted by the police. While the uniformed men were few however, and well spaced outside the marchers, the plain clothes men were many - some say as many as 100 - and mingling with the marchers thus making a total of probably 250 - 300 persons.

The purpose of the march, according to its sponsors, was to draw attention to constant police provocation visits to the "Mangrove", a club cum restaurant cum community centre in the Paddington area. The Mangrove is the meeting place of black people and their white friends and for a considerable time has been living under the threat of being shut down by the police. The reason? The police so far have not given any. It is fair to mention here that not all the black people in the area were in favour of the march.

Things went well for a while, probably over an hour, with a number of watchers looking on from vantage points from upstairs windows, as well as from the pavement. During the march the uniformed men kept changing, taking turns at walking and following in the vans, of which there were many.

According to an eyewitness, a coloured youth was deliberately jostled by one of the plain clothes men, a man in short-sleeved jumper. The youth, feeling as bitter as most black youths now feel, deliberately jostled back and ^{up} fight started. While the black marchers looked around for bottles, bricks and stones to hurl at the police, the police, in turn, were ready with their truncheons. They laid to among men and women alike. This first fracas, which lasted for about two minutes, was livened by invectives like "Kill the Pigs" etc., and embellished by a pig's head and not by pigs' heads as is popularly reported. There were shouts from some whites of "Hands off the black people".

Despite the shouts and the blows, and of course the arrests, the marchers were able to regroup for a while but, when they reached a place where they were hammed in as it were by police vans strategically placed, fighting broke out again and this time the police had all the advantage

because of lack of manoeuvrability by the marchers. The duration of this second bout was not much longer than that of the first.

Great play is made of the fact that 17 policemen were injured. Not much description is given of their injuries, but fair play demands an investigation into the alleged cracked skulls and broken ribs of those marchers who became involved in the fight, as well as into the alleged violent treatment some of them had meted out to them after they were taken to the police station.

The police, in calling for reinforcements, were able to summon five vans which appeared within seconds, but not one ambulance was called to take away the bleeding and unconscious black people, an estimated 30 or so, lying around, with children screaming at the sight.

It was surprising to learn of the return of the police - several van-loads of them - to the Mangrove nearly two hours after the march had ended, and after they had made their arrests. On their return this time, they first cordoned off the area and the officers who went inside the Mangrove laid to again among the customers who ducked, dived, jumped through windows and took every step possible in self protection. It was during this return visit to the Mangrove that Darcus Owusu was also arrested. As to the much publicised theme of "outsiders" exploiting a situation this may be so to some extent, but my information is that there was exploitation too by that small section of the force which appears to specialise in either harassing or beating up black people or both, or in preferring bogus charges against them.

Causes

Here then are two incidents which are symptoms of much deeper causes, causes which seem to be rooted in attitudes prevalent on both sides.

- 1 The feeling is shared by a number of black people that some of the police officers detailed to conduct the march actually resented having to serve in that capacity towards a set of black people. and that after a time one of the Constables decided it was time to break it up.
- 2 Repeated provocation of black people owning cars: This is one of the biggest sources of friction between immigrants and the police. Instances can be cited by a number of professional black people inside and outside the Commission of the offensive attitude of the police towards them, particularly with the implication that they had contravened the law or were driving a stolen car.
Once a West Indian lady of high professional standing in her car was stopped and asked, among other things, her address which she readily gave. Not satisfied, the police followed her in their car to her house.
- 3 What would seem an incredible story is told of a policeman handing a knife to a black fellow, asking him if he had seen it before, and then charging him with possessing an offensive weapon.
- 4 There are frequent reports of the police, after making an arrest and bringing charges with insufficient evidence, advising the defendants to plead guilty, saying that he, the policeman, would then ask for leniency to be granted.
- 5 In areas where large numbers of immigrants concentrate, the police, when patrolling, would see a group of white youths skylarking as it were, and would carry on without interfering. When they see a group of black youths, they immediately walk up and order them to "get a move on".
- 6 Here is an extract from the Wandsworth Council for Community Relations News for July/August 1970:

"Another member of our Committee (black) introduced another police story representing the depressing side of the forces. The Reverend Walter Makulu had a nasty experience a few months ago. He went shopping with his wife at Harrods. He had some difficulty parking his car, and while waiting for his wife he was subjected to offensive interrogation by two plain clothes police officers. Walter Makulu was not wearing his dog collar. The WCCF was shocked to hear the story and immediately made a complaint to the Commissioner of Police. Walter Makulu has given a full account to the Press of the rude manner in which two senior officers investigated his complaint. What happened outside Harrods we heard only at second hand, but we have direct experience of the follow-up investigation, for the same two officers visited the WCCF office and conducted themselves as though they were cross-examining a hostile witness in a murder trial.

What surprised us was that neither officer seemed to know anything about the community relations work either of the Commission or of the police.

Walter Makulu is right in appealing for independent investigation of such complaints. Although we find it hard to believe that all investigations are as badly handled as this one, and we profoundly hope it was an unpleasant exception, it does at least demonstrate a possibility under the present system. This kind of rough, insensitive handling of a delicate situation undoes so much of the good that decent policemen are doing."

7. A black man and his girl friend (white) were having a difference of opinion outside her house not long ago. They exchanged strong words in the process. Up walked a policeman and said to the Young

The police, and the police especially, are a part of the emergency thing that happens occasionally and become attached when, in turn, result in emergency like those in Birmingham and Brixton Hill. The fact that comparatively few soldiers are involved in these examples is lost on people who feel that state power in this country is only tolerated anyway.

What would be the remedy?

In the long term, education is the broadest base is the correct remedy. This is being carried on by a host of agencies, both statutory and voluntary. But it is not good telling a person about education and long-term remedy when he often's a chance of getting his house plucked with *any* sensible interests and then being charged with possession and asked to plead guilty to not attention.

The police institution itself has gone a long way towards helping the situation at both national and local levels. It has been active over the past few years, but obviously what it has done so far has not been good enough so far as the way as the best is concerned. Should it therefore revise its programme?

The idea of recruitment of coloured policemen, again as a long-term remedy, has been mooted for some time. It is a good idea but unfortunately it is caught in the web of a vicious circle. It is no use talking to black youths of joining the force when they are victims of insensitivity of the force, as represented by a few of its members.

... "Is - molesting you?" To which the young woman promptly replied, "No, but you are."

The above, and the previous paragraph, are a few of the everyday things that happen repeatedly and harden attitudes which, in turn, result in incidents like those in Islington and Notting Hill. The fact that comparatively few policemen are involved in these examples is lost on people who feel that their presence in this country is only tolerated anyhow.

What could be the remedy?

In the long term, education in its broadest sense is the surest remedy. This is being carried on by a host of agencies, both statutory and voluntary. But it is no good telling a person about education and long-term remedy when he stands a chance of getting his house planted with ^{stuff} cannabis tomorrow and then being charged with possession and asked to plead guilty to get mitigation.

The police institution itself has gone a long way towards helping the situation at both national and local levels. It has been active over the past few years, but obviously what it has done so far has not been good enough as far as the man on the beat is concerned. Should it therefore revise its programme?

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Here are a few suggestions for short-term and interim consideration:

- a all complaints against the police to be investigated by an independent tribunal;
- b a non-police person to be employed at every police station to see that an arrested person is not assaulted when brought in;
- c the dismissal, or at least transfer of policemen found guilty of "unpolice" action.
- d appeal to the information media to treat accounts fairly and objectively.
- e an immediate test of the recommendation that selected black school-leavers should be guests for about a week or a fortnight at police cadet training schools with no suggestion at the time of their being invited to join the force. It is quite possible that later and after this experience they would feel less unfavourably disposed towards becoming a policeman.

The report of the two recent incidents is based on eyewitnesses' accounts.

Some of those to whom I spoke are known to me personally and are quite reliable.

Sam Morris
14th August 1970

Copies to: Mr Maddell
Mr Wright
Mr Howard-Drake

Min Wooten

Mr. H. J. Jones 12/8

Lord [illegible]

Thank you for your minute of 10 August asking for an assessment of the various extremist movements operating in the race relations field, inside and outside London.

Since then you will have seen Mr Maddell's minute of 12 August, concerning the Metropolitan police appreciation of the Black Panther movement, the various "organisations" within it, and its leading personalities.

I doubt if we are going to get much beyond this up-to-date assessment. But you will also have seen from Mr Maddell's minute and Mr Howard-Drake's minute of 11 August which he had prepared before we received your request, that we shall be getting some further information from the Community Relations Commission. Something may also emerge from the meeting of London Borough Community Relations officers which they have convened for to-morrow. The fact is, however, that by the very nature of the nature of the beast, extremist organisations tend not to have much to do with CRDs, and vice-versa. In the normal way we have therefore to rely on the police appreciation though we are from time to time able to supplement these. The Commission's contribution, and that of local CRDs and community councils is in the field of normal police/migrants relationship which is a very different subject.

Although the Black Panther organisations claim to talk on behalf of coloured people generally, their "leaders" and supporters are predominantly west Indian or east African. The representative organisations of the other communities, which are also confusingly mixed-race, include a number with extreme views some of which reflect "black" politics of the Punjab in Scotland, and some conventional extreme left-wing views. You have had an earlier note of the complications in the Sikh national representative body and Mr Howard-Drake has sent over a note about the various Indian organisations which he compiled at the time of the attacks on Brixton earlier this year.

Perhaps I could mention two other points:

a. I noticed a typically false reference in the Guardian (Miscellany for 12 August) to the fact that Chelsea and Kensington have no Community Relations officers; the implication being that either the local authority or the Commission (or both) were to blame. In fact there is a long complicated and typical Notting Hill history of "political" pressures and intrigues relating to this and Mr Howard-Drake is preparing a note for you on it. In any case it is doubtful, for the reasons I have indicated above, whether a Community Relations Officer would have been able to do much to prevent or anticipate these particular incidents though I see that the CRD of Westminster is acting constructively to follow-up the earlier Paddington disturbances.

b. Mr Howard-Drake's minute of 11 August referred to the report by Mr Stevenson and Mr Wallis. There is the first of two articles about it (by Mr Stevenson) in the August number of Race Today. The disturbing thing about the findings was that the high rate of

unemployment was in complete and glaring contrast to national and local figures both for adults and young ^{people} elsewhere. It will therefore be interesting to know the outcome of the LEP discussions. There are, of course, other social factors relevant to young West Indians in Notting Hill. There is for example a group of homeless ones who were brought up there and have drifted ^{back} when their parents have moved elsewhere in Greater London, partly as a result of reaction against traditional West Indian social place.

P. S. Keller
14 August 1970

Mr Waddell
Mr Wright

cc Mr Wright

Mr Waddell

Mr Cunningham, Member of Parliament for Islington South West, telephoned this morning to ask if he could see the Home Secretary or another Home Office Minister about the "probe" which the newspapers had reported the Home Secretary as making into the recent clashes between police and coloured people. The Black House Cottage and the Caledonian Road Police Station are both in his constituency and he has already discussed the situation with Commander Mitchell. Mr Cunningham assured me that he would not want to make any meeting public.

It emerged in conversation that Mr Cunningham would not be able to call at the Home Office before Friday and the Home Secretary is himself heavily engaged that day. I should be grateful for your advice on Mr Cunningham's request and, in particular, whether in view of the time available the useful first step might be for the Home Secretary to write Mr Cunningham a letter saying what he is doing about the recent events that concern him so that Mr Cunningham could have it before Friday.

Mr Weiler

We have been keeping an eye on recent developments in North London from the I.1 Division point of view and Mr James will be letting us have a copy of the police report on Notting Hill which has been called for.

2. He will also be letting us have a copy of the report on the recent incidents in Islington. On this it might be worth recording that Mr Morris, the Deputy General Secretary of the Community Relations Commission, tells us that the local community relations officer in Islington has reported that the trouble there was very minor and would have passed unnoticed if it had concerned white youths. He and the chairman of the Islington Community Relations Council attended the court hearing and were disturbed to find the press encouraging black youths to give the Black Power salute for photographers.

3. These recent manifestations of Black Power activity are disturbing if they are an indication that the movement is going to have an effect on community relations work generally. Up to now I think it has been true to say that the movement's effect has been minimal and that it has carried little weight with the great majority of coloured people in this country. We must make sure that we are kept informed of any growth in its influence and I am taking up with Mr the question of revising a detailed assessment of Black Power which was produced in 1968 and which so far as I know has not been reviewed since then.

4. Mr Morris has promised to let us have his own assessment of the recent incidents from the community relations point of view.

5. He has incidentally told us that he has had some contact with Michael X and Black House. He thought they might do useful work but should be watched carefully. They have applied to the Community Relations Commission for a grant for their library and Mr Morris apparently has it in mind that the Commission might be able to help them get books. He tells us he recognises the need to proceed cautiously and I hope he does. As you know the recent charges against Michael X and others of robbery and demanding money with menaces arose out of attempts forcibly to obtain funds for Black House. Although we should not perhaps assume that everything Black House does in the race relations field is necessarily bad - the welfare officer, Brother Herman, is reported as taking a sensible line - the Commission may be getting involved with some difficult customers.

6. One of the worrying aspects of the recent incidents from the community relations point of view is the suggestion that much of the trouble has been the work of unemployed West Indian youths and reports, for example, by Mr Stevenson and Mr Wallis, that the unemployment rate for West Indian youths in North London is as high as 22% i.e. very considerably higher than the average. The DER and the Race Relations Board have both expressed concern about the possible implications of these reports and Mr Morgan of the DER had already arranged to hold a meeting this afternoon to discuss their survey with Mr Stevenson and Mr Wallis. Mr Fries will be attending for the Division.

7. Here again, if the reports are substantiated we shall have to take a fresh look at the question of employment opportunities for young coloured people. Nothing will lead to racial trouble more quickly or provide Black Power with a better opportunity to extend their influence than a high unemployment rate among coloured youngsters.

J T A Howard-Drake

I.1 Division

11 August 1970

RESTRICTED

cc Mr Angel
Mr Rawsthorne
Mr Wagdell
Mr Wright
Reference Mr James

92/11/5

Mr Weller

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J T A Howard-Drake
I.1 Division
11 August 1970

CODE 12-75

Covering -

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Bubbear ~~Mr. Hallgren~~

Thank you. As I'm
going off on leave
tonight for a fortnight
I'm returning this bundle
of pps on the Nottingham
affair. The S/S is seeing
Dr. Pitt on Tuesday so
the top copies of
submissions are being
retained for the purpose
of briefing, - among them

Mr. Genard's report of
11 Aug. (Sir P. Allen
has the second copy of
this.).

J. Leconte
14/8

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SP

SECRETS. of S.Black Power

I attach, as promised, material from New Scotland Yard giving (in one document) an assessment by Commander Neivens of the significance of recent incidents in the general context of community relations and relations between the police and coloured communities in London; and giving ^{Separate} Special Branch general comment with some detail about organisations and persons. In a covering letter to me Mr. Mark says:

"On the continuance of the investigation of Sunday's incident I cannot say more at present than that consideration will be given within about seven days to charging all, or almost all, of the prisoners with affray. The gathering and evaluation of evidence naturally makes it difficult to be more precise at the moment.

There is one other aspect of the last incident that I propose to discuss with the Commissioner on his return: namely, the need for police to be able to reply immediately to malicious allegations couched in general terms. I think that, notwithstanding the difficulties, we should explore the possibility of improving the present rather irritating situation in which by the time the truth is known the press and the public have lost interest in it.

I also promised comment on the bearing of race relations legislation on what has lately been said and done by the black militants. Broadly, the legislation is aimed at putting a stop to discrimination in the provision of services or facilities (including advertisements relating to this). Some of the activities or intended activities of the Black House (e.g. the establishment of a supermarket to buy from coloured people for sale to coloured people) might be questionable and might have to be considered by the Race Relations Board.

But the more interesting aspect of the legislation for present purposes is that there is a provision (section 6 of the

Race Relations Act 1965) which makes it an offence for a person with intent to stir up hatred against any section of the public in Great Britain distinguished by colour, race or ethnic or national origins to

- (i) publish or distribute written matter which is threatening, abusive or insulting;
- (ii) use at any public place or any public meeting words which are threatening, abusive or insulting - if in either case the matter or words are likely to stir up hatred against the section of the public concerned on grounds of colour, race or ethnic or national origins.

A prosecution may be instituted in England and Wales only by or with the consent of the Attorney-General.

The section was not intended to penalise ordinary discussion or legitimate controversy. The idea was that it would be used to deal with organised campaigns of incitement to racial hatred rather than with isolated incidents. Like the rest of race relations legislation, it was conceived more to protect minorities against the malice of the British (e.g. Colin Jordan) than to protect the British against Black Power or other coloured minorities.

There are inhibitions of two kinds about prosecutions under the section:

- (a) The provision treads on delicate ground since it plainly threatens some encroachment on freedom of speech. Parliament accepted that the encroachment was justifiable for the purpose of checking emergent agitators who were intent on introducing hatred into race relations.

- (b) There is a risk that prosecutions may arouse public sympathy for those prosecuted (and consequently antipathy towards those who were the subject of the incitement) and give wider publicity to racist views.

One would not expect the point at (b) to count for much in the present context but you will have noted the emphasis which Roy Sawh has been laying on the need for a public inquiry on relations between the police and coloured people. He and his friends may be reckoning that if they make enough public stir they will attract some sympathy from all the shades of opinion which can be rallied on a cry of "police brutality", and he might be expected to use a trial for the same purposes. This sort of opportunism would be in line with what Commander Neivens says about the basis for action at Caledonian Road and Notting Hill.

We hope to receive a note from the Community Relations Commission giving their view on recent events. When you see Dr. Pitt next week you may like to take the opportunity of working out a general course of action to be followed over a period. The following main points occur to me:

- (1) Dr. Pitt may prove not to be in very close touch with the springs of recent action, but he is eloquent (and, I think, very convincing) on the importance of good relations between police and West Indians. I have a lively memory of his sombre talk to a conference in March this year about his recurring nightmare based on the supposition that one day a British policeman would be obliged to kill a West Indian. He has thought very seriously but may be willing to confess that he has few solutions.

(ii) We know very well that recruitment of coloured people to the police service is of key importance. It is difficult because the few candidates who will come forward are commonly found not to be up to standard; and the police rightly insist on maintaining both physical and educational standards. The most encouraging line of approach is likely to be through cadet training and we are at present working on the possibilities of ensuring that several coloured cadets can be taken through their training courses together - in order to enable them to give one another support and confidence. We have in the past talked to chief constables on this subject and it is probably time to have another go at them. It may also be time to enlist the active help of the Caribbean High Commissioners, who in a talk not long ago with your predecessor said in general terms that they would try to help.

(iii) Mr. Crawford has had a lot to say about the only way of breaking down distrust of the police being the establishment of some system for independent handling of complaints against the police. This seems to me a gross oversimplification and, although I hope an independent element can be introduced, it will not be on a big enough scale to satisfy Mr. Crawford or others. But Dr. Pitt's views about this might be worth having.

(iv) Criticism of the "establishment" by coloured leaders extends beyond the police to the judiciary. It is often said that coloured people cannot expect their

word to be taken by the magistrates against the word of a white person and, in particular, a white policeman. Again, Mr. Pitt's views on the truth and significance of this might be worth having.

- (v) You will probably feel that when the immediate heat has gone out of the situation (as I hope and expect it will in a few weeks) you could usefully make a major speech which would regret the attempts of unrepresentative coloured leaders to provoke violence and to set back the very real efforts made by the police and others; recounting the attempts at improvement made on the police side; and in general trying to defuse the situation. If, however, incidents recur in the next week or two, an early speech would be desirable and you might think it right to hold discussions with Members in the main constituencies affected.

12th August, 1970.

Copies: Lord Windlesham
Sir Philip Allen
Mr. Weiler
Mr. Wright

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New Scotland 141
11 August 1970

"BLACK POWER" IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. At the outset, it must be stressed that there are coloured organisations in this country which are not of themselves extremist, and there are extremist organisations which are not exclusively coloured. Those organisations in which the two elements are combined are fortunately few in London and are virtually confined to those wholly or mainly supporting "Black Power", for it is in the "Black Power" concept that we find the only forms of extremism which are exclusive to black people. The numerous organisations up and down the country, particularly the local council liaison committees operating under the umbrella of the government sponsored National Committee of Commonwealth Immigrants (now renamed Community Relations ^{Commission} Board), all of which are fostering the general principles of racial integration and a lessening of colour prejudice, cannot be regarded as coming within the orbit of extremist organisations, even although in certain cases executive positions may be held by coloured extremists.
2. "Black Power" is a concept and a term which, has been given an exaggerated sense of importance and status out of all perspective. In this respect, the national press, radio and television can be held primarily responsible, for time and again individuals have been referred to, or introduced, as leaders of "Black Power" when in fact they were the leading personalities of small groups numbering no more than 50/60 persons, and never deserved or warranted more ambitious descriptions.
3. "Black Power", as a promotional force, is incapable of definition except by reference to the organisations owing allegiance to it. It has its birthplace and its heartland in the USA, where it burst upon the public during the seasonal outbreaks of civil disorder in the Spring of 1966. Its name was coined, so it is said, by a white man, Senator Eastland of Mississippi, who saw it strictly from the white man's viewpoint as a threat to white society. Its arch-apostle was the demagogue Stokely CARMICHAEL, who spread

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APPENDIX 'A'

"BLACK POWER" ORGANISATIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. UNIVERSAL BLACK PEOPLE'S IMPROVEMENT ORGANISATION

This organisation, the successor to the Notting Hill Community (Self-Help) Association (Ltd.) was formed in May 1969 as a vehicle for coloured communalism. Until the incidents on 9 August 1970 at Notting Hill there has been little action from this particular group since its inception, with the possible exception of an incident in Portobello Road, W10 on 10.7.69 when Police were severely harassed following an accident when an out-of-control Police vehicle fatally injured a coloured man.

The prime movers in the organisation are Hensal Anthony MOHIFT, Vinubhai Fakirbhai PATEL, Alicia AKBAR, Ajoy Shankar CHOSE and Maurice Hugh BROWN. Roy SAWH and Abdul MALIK also have loose connections with this organisation.

Generally speaking the group is predominantly West Indian in composition and is more aligned to a concept of Mother Africa as promoted by the North American organisations, Republic of New Africa and the African-American Repatriation Association. This group was used as a vehicle by Frank CRITCHLOW, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant, 8 All Saints Road, W11, to organise the demonstration against alleged police brutality and harassment held at Notting Hill on 9 August 1970, during the course of which violence was used against police.

2. ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S JUSTICE

This organisation, formed in August 1969 by Michael J BARTLETT, a prominent member of the Universal Coloured People's Association, is designed to promote activities opposing alleged police brutality towards coloured people. Its main activities to date have been a number of minor demonstrations outside Brixton Prison.

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3. AFRICAN DESCENDANTS' ADVANCEMENT MOVEMENT

This negro separatist organisation, formed in October 1967, confines its activities to encouraging interest in modern Africa with a view to reviving African traditions and culture.

4. BLACK PANTHERS

The Black Panthers is the organisation based on straightforward black exclusivism with a minimum of political undertone, although support tends to be given to the U.C.P.A. on occasion. Obi EGBUNA used to lead this body, but all his activities have been seriously inhibited by the three-year suspended sentence imposed on him in December 1968. The Brixton chapter, led by 'Eddie' LECOINTE is now the most active group in this organisation, and joined in the demonstration against alleged police harassment on 9 August at Notting Hill.

5. BLACK PEOPLES' ALLIANCE

The Black Peoples' Alliance (B.P.A), hailed at its formation in April 1968 as being the new united front of all the immigrant organisations, appears to have met with the same problems as beset previous attempts at unification. The origins of its members are so polymorphous, with the result that their interests and aspirations are equally diverse. The prime movers, Jagmohan JOSHI and the more militant Roy SAWH, quickly fell out, resulting in the dismissal of SAWH at the beginning of 1969. The organisation has some links with the United States Black Panther Party, and some members took part in the demonstration in Grosvenor Square on 2 March 1970 to protest against imprisonment of Bobby SEALE, leader of American Black Panthers.

6. BLACK POWER PARTY

This separatist organisation was formed in February 1969 by Roy SAWH to promote activities in furtherance of his highly individual notions of racial and social exclusivism. It has shown no marked activity during the current year.

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7. BLACK WORKERS' CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

This organisation, another creation of the inventive Michael J BARTLETT, was formed early in 1969 to promote racial and social exclusivism. It involved itself in protest demonstrations during an industrial dispute concerning the dismissal of a coloured worker during the Summer of 1969, but its other activities, if any, have not been marked up to the present time.

8. THE UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLE'S ASSOCIATION

The Universal Coloured People's Association remains one of the main vehicles of Black Power in this country. Although the leadership and political motivation has changed, the U.C.P.A. remains the largest and the most active coloured peoples' separatist organisation. The total membership, the vast majority of whom reside in London, is now estimated to be less than 100, but no exact figures are available.

The imprisonment of Tony SINARIS, in February 1969 for inciting persons to carry weapons at a public demonstration, and the expulsion of Harold MOORE, both of whom were sympathetic towards Maoism, the Association tended towards Trotskyism. This became particularly apparent after the election of George Anthony JOSEPH, a member of the International Marxist Group, as Treasurer. This trend towards Trotskyism and International Socialism has been reflected in the various writings published by the U.C.P.A., particularly in articles printed in "Black Power Newsletter", the organ of the U.C.P.A., which is published intermittently. During the last year the U.C.P.A. has been regularly represented at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park. A demonstration was held at Brixton on 2 August 1969 in protest against alleged brutality by police. This demonstration had been advertised as a "Mass Rally", but in fact less than 50 persons, about a third of whom were under 14 years of age, attended. On 13.9.69 the U.C.P.A. organised a march from Trafalgar Square to the Home Office in protest against the detention of Robert Franklin WILLIAMS, a U.S. citizen wanted in the U.S.A. for kidnapping, who had been refused leave to

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land here. This demonstration was supported by forty persons. On 25.4.70 the U.C.P.A. demonstrated outside Arbour Square Police Station, E1, against alleged police brutality "over the last decade". About 60 persons, mostly white attended but there was no disorder.

9. UNIVERSAL COLOURED PEOPLES' AND ARABS ASSOCIATION

The U.C.P.A.A. was the brain-child of Roy SAWH in opposition to Obi EGBUNA's U.C.P.A., but the first-named body collapsed and SAWH joined the Black People's Alliance. However, SAWH, always a militant coloured opportunist, had a serious disagreement with Jagmohan JOSHI and other leaders of the B.P.A., and in February 1969 he formed the Black People's Party - virtually a one-man-band.

10. RACIAL ADJUSTMENT ACTION SOCIETY

This organisation claims to stand for the unity and solidarity of all coloured peoples, in particular the coloured minority of Great Britain. It is led by Abdul MALIK.

It claims to have over 1,000 members in North London, mainly young coloured West Indians, but probably only about 100 actual members. Also claims to have 27 separate chapters throughout the country.

Its leading officers are:

Abdul MALIK	-	President
Herman Archibald EDWARDS	-	Welfare Officer
Vincent HYNES	-	Press Officer
Everhard BASTIEN	-	Legal adviser.

Its office is at 'The Black House', 95-101 Holloway Road, N7, and its publication is called 'The Black House'.

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APPENDIX 'B'

LEADING "BLACK POWER" PERSONALITIES
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

1. MALIK, Michael Abdul

@ DE FREITAS, Miguel

@ Michael 'X'

b 17.8.33 in Trinidad

This man has played a prominent part in "Black Power" activities in Britain, being the founder and leading member of the Racial Adjustment Action Society, the Black Eagles and the Black Muslim Brotherhood. He was closely associated with the visit in July 1967 of Stokely CARMICHAEL, the coloured American agitator, which took the form of a crusade to implant the violent principles of "Black Power" in this country.

A former part-time rent collector for the late notorious Perec RACHMAN and a close associate of low-class criminals and prostitutes, MALIK professes to be a convert to Islam, believing in the inherent superiority of all black people and advocates violent methods to enforce this supremacy. He claims to have financial interests in the West Indies but, backed by a wealthy young financier, his main interest at present lies in the developments of the "Black House" in Holloway Road, London N1, as a community centre and supermarket for coloured people in this country. His motives, however, appear to be rooted as much in a desire for money and personal power as in his hatred of white people.

He was sentenced under section 6 of the Race Relations Act 1965 to 12 months imprisonment at Reading Borough Quarter Sessions on 9 November 1967 and additionally he has convictions for obstructing police, larceny servant, possession of drugs and permitting premises to be used as a brothel. He is currently on bail to appear at the Inner London Sessions on charges of robbery and blackmail.

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SOARES, Antonio Moushine Leo de Sousa

© SINARIS, Tony

b. 31.7.42 at Goa, India.

A militant supporter of the Universal Coloured People's Association, SINARIS was associating with the maoist section of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign when he was arrested on 31 October 1968 on a charge of inciting people to carry offensive weapons during the "Autumn Offensive" of that year. At the Central Criminal Court he was later sentenced to two years imprisonment for inciting to riot and one year to run concurrently for inciting to carry offensive weapons. He was released from prison on 23 June last and has since attempted to procure arms and ammunition for the use of the Black Power movement.

EGBUNA, Obi

b 18.7.36 at Enugu in Nigeria

A leading member of the Universal Coloured People's Association and the Black Panthers, EGBUNA has been a vociferous platform speaker, who has mixed with several organisations on the extreme left of the political spectrum. In July 1968 he visited Dr Kwame NKRUMAH, the former Ghanaian politician, at Conakry, Guinea, and brought back a tape-recording of a speech on "Black Power" by NKRUMAH.

A self-professed playwright, EGBUNA has convictions for assaulting and obstructing police, insulting words, threatening behaviour and wilful damage. Additionally, at the Central Criminal Court on 10 December 1968 he was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, suspended for 3 years, on counts of uttering and conspiring to utter a writing threatening to kill police officers and of conspiring to incite persons to murder police officers.

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MARTIN, Peter

b 3.3.47 at Lagos, Nigeria

A prominent and active supporter of the Universal Coloured People's Association and the Black Panther Movement, MARTIN was tried with Obi EGBUNA on charges of threatening and conspiring to threaten to murder police officers in December 1968, for which he was bound over in the sum of £50 for three years. However on 30 July 1969 he was arrested for insulting behaviour and on 2 December sentenced to nine months imprisonment for distributing insulting "Black Power" leaflets.

GHOSE Ajoy

b. 6.11.24

A militant and active member of the Universal Coloured People's Association, GHOSE is well-known in the Notting Hill area for his participation in local affairs. He is also connected with several pro-Chinese organisations

JAMES, John Edward @ Johnny

b 1.11.26 in Guyana

Expelled from the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1963 for his pro-Chinese beliefs, JAMES supports "Black Power" in its widest sense. He has been mainly concerned with the Caribbean Workers Movement which he founded but is also extremely active in other organisations on the extreme left.

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SAWH, Roopnarayan @ Roy

b. 11.1.34 in Guyana

An ebullient orator at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, SAWH has been deeply involved in the activities of a number of "Black Power" organisations for some years. He has convictions recorded against him for obstructing police, assault and under the Race Relations Act, 1965.

LECOINTE, Edmund

b. 16.11.41 in Jamaica

A prominent supporter of the Black Panthers and associate of Roy SAWH.

UDOH, Etukudoh David

b. 2.10.36 in Nigeria

An associate of Obi EGBUNA and apparently the principal member of the US Black Panther Solidarity Committee in the United Kingdom.

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BARTLETT, Michael Joseph

b. 16.8.43 in Jamaica

A close confidant of Obi EGBUNA and Peter MARTIN, BARTLETT has taken a close interest in "Black Power" affairs and has been the S.W. London organiser of the Universal Coloured Peoples Association.

SAGAY, Sam

b. 7.8.41 in Nigeria

A former secretary of the Black Panther Movement and founder of the Dynamic Youth Movement. Associate of Obi EGBUNA.

SHERVINGTON, Andre Monteith Ovid

© Amon

b. 12.10.23 in Guyana

An itinerant demonstrator, SHERVINGTON is extremely active in "Black Power" circles and maintains connections with a number of organisations, notably the Black Panthers, Universal Coloured Peoples Association and the West Indian Standing Conference.

YOUNG, Louis

b. 25.10.39 in Nigeria

A close friend of Obi EGBUNA, YOUNG is a staunch supporter of the Black Panthers.

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✓(1) P. C. L. J.
A.C. 12/8 (2) Mrs. J. J. J. to see. 11/8
(3) M. J. J. (C. J.)
(4) Mr. McCallum (for file).

S. of S.

.. The attached report from New Scotland Yard is no more than preliminary and it deals mainly with the actual events of the march to and from the Mangrove Restaurant on Sunday, 9th August. An appreciation of what lies behind the march and its significance in the general context of community relations is yet to come.

Mr. Mark, at my request, is supplying:

- (i) A Special Branch appreciation.
- (ii) An assessment from the Yard's own community relations staff of the significance of the Notting Hill disturbance taken along with the Caledonian Road disturbance recently, and the general relationship between police and the coloured communities, especially West Indian, in London. This will include some account of the allegations made (in the Evening Standard last night and elsewhere) about a particular police officer who is said to indulge in harassment and a certain amount of violence of his own.
- (iii) Further information about "charges for more serious offences" referred to at the end of Mr. Gerrard's report. These will in all probability be charges of affray.

We shall probably have the material on (i) and (ii) before the end of today; but information about the affray charges may not come so quickly.

I mentioned yesterday the bad record of Michael 'X' and you may like to see the separate note attached of his activities from Rachman times onwards. As you will no doubt have guess

Michael 'X' and Roy Sawh are exempt from deportation; so also, I assume, is Frank Critchlow, who is not known to the Immigration and Nationality Department and has therefore almost certainly been here for 10 years or more.

I shall send forward, along with the material yet to come from Mr. Mark, a note on the use of section 6 of the Race Relations Act 1965 - which is the public order provision dealing with incitement to racial hatred.

(Signed) J. H. WADDELL

11th August, 1979.

Copies: Sir Philip Allen
Mr. Weiler
Mr. Wright

Mr Smith

Mr McGowan

Many thanks.
this could go on the file
D.M.

Mr Hillman

✓ I had a word with Mr Collie, A7 Branch, about
the police visits to the Mangrove Restaurant prior
to the demonstration in August 1970.

The police have the power of entry into
restaurants etc. to detect likely breaches of
the peace. There is no set practice, but casual.
They are made to places where trouble is

on all 5 visits to the Mangrove
police were requested by the Local
Authority to accompany their Inspector. Previous
unaccompanied visits by the Inspector had
resulted in trouble.

D. vic. Jones

23/3/72.

Office
Horseferry House
Dean Ryle St.
SW1

^{copying}
CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Secombe

I imagine Mr. Waller
(who I understand has
the main report) would like
this Special Branch report.
It is not particularly
informative.

Hubert
11/8
F4

of the Special
by "Black P

persons were
rose at the
The arrest
' Court at 1
previously

sincerely,

Smith



CONFIDENTIAL

Special Branch,

New Scotland Yard,

Broadway,

LONDON, S.W.1

9# 89

D McQueen Esq
F4 Division
Home Office
Horseferry House
Dean Ryle Street
SW1

Our reference
400/68/97

10 August 1970

on hand
Dear Mr McQueen,

1. Attached herewith is a copy of the Special Branch report dealing with a demonstration by "Black Power" supporters on Sunday 9 August.

2. It will be seen that nineteen persons were arrested as a result of a disturbance which arose at the junction of Marban Road and Portnall Road, W9. The arrested persons will appear at Marylebone Magistrates' Court at 10 am today. Only one of these arrested persons has previously come to the notice of this Branch.

Yours sincerely,

S. Smith
D.A.C.

CONFIDENTIAL

Appendix to Special Branch report dated 9.8.70., concerning a demonstration and march by coloured persons against 'Police harassment.' The following is a list of these persons arrested during this demonstration and the offences with which they were charged:-

1. Lennox FRANCE, 4 Dalgarno Gardens, W.10., a motor mechanic, born 28.11.48. in British Guiana.
Charged with 'Assault on Police' (2 Cases) Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Offensive Weapon' Con. to S1 Prevention of Crimes Act 1953.
2. Cuthbert PIERRE, 107 Wornington Road, W.10., a labourer, born 3.2.53. in Dominica.
Charged with 'Threatening behaviour' Con. to S. 5, Public Order Act 1936.
3. Althea JONES-LECOINTE, 154 Barnsbury Road, N.1., a seamstress, born 9.1.45. in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault occasioning actual bodily harm' (2 Cases) Con. to Sec. 47 Offences Against the Person Act 1861.
'Offensive Weapon at Public Meeting'. Con. to S. 5 Public Order Act, 1936.
4. Bernard CHARNLEY, 132 Stroud Green Road, N.4., a board man, born 12.5.48., in Reading.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act, 1964.
'Threatening behaviour'. Con. to S. 5 Public Order Act 1936.
5. Allen TYRELL, 27 Lancaster Road, W.11., a labourer, born 9.5.49. in Lewisham.
Charged with 'Possessing cannabis resin'. Con. to S.1 Drugs (Prevention of Misuse) Act 1964.
6. George ABENG, 24 Holland Park, W.11., an art dealer, born 13.5.41. in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Offensive Weapon'. Con. to S. 1 Prevention Of Crimes Act 1953.
'Obstructing Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Wilful Damage'. Con. to S. 14 Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, as amended by the Malicious Damage Act 1964.
7. Pearl THOMAS, 44 Downes Park Road, E.8., unemployed, born 6.9.34 in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Threatening Behaviour'. Con. to S. 54(13) Met. Police Act 1839.
'Offensive Weapon'. Con. to S.1 Prevention Of Crimes Act 1953.
8. Thomas Barry CHAPLIN, 102 Cazenove Road, N.16., a playleader, born 28.1.46. in Liverpool.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Insulting Words'. Con. to S. 54(13) Met Police Act 1839.
9. Errol PASCALL, 8 All Saints' Road, W.11., a painter, born 9.9.50. in Trinidad.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.

APPENDIX 'A' (continued)

CONFIDENTIAL

10. James RICHARDS, 34 Myrtle Road, W.3., a machine operator, born 3.9.53. in Grenada.
Charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
11. Edwin JENNINGS, 13 Craster Road, S.W. 2., a Hospital porter, born 10.9.48. in Jamaica.
12. Trevor FARRELL, 17 Ashmere Grove, S.W.2., Unemployed, born 3.9.50. in Monserrat.
BOTH charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964
'Offensive Weapon at Public Meeting'. Con. to S. 4
Public Order Act 1936.
13. Anthony Carlyle INNIS, 181 Lancaster Road, W.11., a Labourer, born 27.1.47. in Trinidad
14. Cobina CUMMING, 18 Dorset Square, N.W.1., unemployed, born 28.8.42. in Hampstead.
15. Barbara BEESE, 66 Oxford Gardens, W.10., unemployed, born 2.1.46. in London.
16. Philip Alan COURTNEY, 44 Cavendish Road, N.4., a furrier, born 12.6.51. in British Guiana.
17. Audley GOOLSBY, 2 Ladbrooke Grove, W.11., a musician, born 22.6.50. in Jamaica.
18. Darance LICORISH, 4A Powwis Gardens, W.11., unemployed, born 5.7.51. in Trinidad.
19. Sydoney WILLIAMSON, 4 Cambridge Gardens, W.10., a Photography Assistant, born 8.6.50. in Jamaica.
ALL charged with 'Assault on Police'. Con. to S. 51 Police Act 1964.
'Offensive Weapon'. Con. to S. 1 Prevention of Crimes Act
1953.

All the above-mentioned persons will appear at Marylebone Magistrates' Court at 10 a.m. on Monday 10th August 1970.

CONFIDENTIAL



A list of banners and slogans used during a Black Power demonstration reported in Special Branch report dated 9.8.70

BANNERS

'Calling all pigs, calling all pigs. Freak out or Get out.'

'Blacks Unite Now.'

'Black Panther Movement - Black Oppressed People all over the world are one.'

'Hands Off the Mangrove.'

'Black Power, Peoples Power.'

'We've got to get rid of the pigs.'

SLOGANS

'Shout it loud I'm Black and Proud.'

'We've got to get rid of the pigs.'

'Hands off the Mangrove.'

'What do we want - Black Power.'

'Power to the People.'

A list of banners and slogans used during a Black Power demonstration reported in Special Branch report dated 9.8.70.

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- 'We've got to get rid of the pigs.'
- 'Hands off the Mangrove.'
- 'What do we want - Black Power.'
- 'Power to the People.'



OFF 142 / 1 / 21
67

10, DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

PRIVATE SECRETARY

The attached communication addressed to the Prime Minister is transmitted to you to be dealt with in whatever manner is considered appropriate by the Department concerned. It refers to previous correspondence which was forwarded to you on

1. No acknowledgment has been sent from here.
2. A plain acknowledgment has been sent from here, adding that the communication has been forwarded to your Department.
3. A plain acknowledgment has been sent from here, adding that the communication is receiving attention. You should ensure that a substantive reply is sent from your Department as soon as possible.
4. A copy of the acknowledgment which has been sent from here is attached.

Date 10.8.70

OPOLITAN POLI

SPECIAL B

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METROPOLITAN POLICE

SPECIAL BRANCH

Special Report

9th day of August 1970

SUBJECT Black

Demonstration

Reference to Papers

00/68/97

1. This report concerns a demonstration and march by coloured persons against alleged harassment by police which took place on Sunday, 9th August, 1970 in the Notting Hill, North Kensington and Kilburn areas. About 120 coloured persons took part, considerable violence broke out during the march and 19 persons were arrested. These will all appear at Marylebone Magistrates Court at 10a.m. on Monday, 10th August, 1970. Six uniformed constables received injuries resulting in their being admitted to hospital.

2. The demonstration was organised by Frank CRITCHLOW, a West Indian, owner of the Mangrove Restaurant, 8, All Saints Road, W.11, in protest against alleged police discrimination towards his restaurant, after various visits and searches by police for drugs, and after having been served with a number of summonses for serving refreshments after hours without a licence. For some days previously, various posters had been displayed in the windows of the restaurant advertising the demonstration, and leaflets were distributed within the various local West Indian communities, calling for support for the demonstration against 'discriminatory police action'. It was established previously that some support had been promised by Abdul MALIK, alias Michael X, the self-styled leader of Black Power in this country, and the Brixton Chapter of the Black Panthers, headed by 'Eddie' LECOINTE. Ajoy GHOSE, Rhodon GORDON and other members of interested West Indian semi-political groups were also known to have attended pre-planning meetings for this demonstration.

3. From 2.30p.m. on 9th August, demonstrators gathered outside the Mangrove Restaurant, and at 3p.m. they were addressed briefly by Althea JONES-LECOINTE, a coloured woman (who was later arrested - see appendix 'A') and an individual, coloured, who could not be identified. JONES-LECOINTE called for a show of 'Black Power' against the 'pig police', who, she claimed, were harassing and oppressing black people. They were using force against the coloured population, she said, and "violence must be met by violence, power must be gained in the streets".

4. At 3.10p.m., accompanied by uniformed police, the demonstrators, mainly young coloured persons, chanting slogans and carrying banners (which are listed in appendix 'C') marched to Notting Dale Police Station, which they found to be protected by a contingent of police, then continued through back streets to Notting Hill Police Station, which was similarly protected. After a brief halt on the opposite side of the road to the Police

Station for a session of shouting abuse at the occupants, the march continued along Ladbroke Grove, Golborne Road, and across Harrow Road, into Portnall Road, W.9. At the junction of Marban Road and Portnall Road, an area predominantly occupied by coloured persons, the first incident took place.

5. A brick was thrown from the upstairs window of a near-by house at the accompanying uniformed police, and they were then set upon by the demonstrators. Bricks, milk bottles and banners were thrown at police, and broken banner handles were used as weapons to attack individual police officers. Police reinforcements were called up, and after about a quarter of an hour of fighting, which resulted in several arrests (see appendix 'A'), a number of the demonstrators moved along Marban Road into Bravington Road, where they re-formed. They continued with their march as far as Shirland Road, where a similar of incidents occurred, resulting in further violence when various missiles were used against police and more arrests took place. The situation remained tense for about half an hour, during which time the demonstrators were asked by senior police officers to leave. They gradually dispersed, and by 5.10p.m. the area was clear of demonstrators.

6. It would appear most probable that the seemingly aimless march around the back streets of Ladbroke Grove and Harrow Road was designed to lead the accompanying uniformed police as far from reinforcements and aid as possible before a pre-calculated situation led to their being attacked by the demonstrators in a mainly coloured residential area. There can be little doubt that the first incident was contrived as an excuse to attack police, and it will be seen that most of those arrested were young coloured persons who have not previously come to the notice of this Branch, their leaders carefully staying clear of involvement with police. The organisers may well have hoped for assistance from local coloured residents, but this was not forthcoming.

7. Uniformed police arrangements were entirely adequate, and reinforcements, although not openly in evidence, were readily available at all times throughout the march. Had this not been so, a more serious situation might have arisen due to the obvious violent intent of the participants.

(W. A. Hovell)

Inspector

Chief Inspector

Submitted

CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT

Demonstration / Political Statement

We, the Black People of London have called this demonstration in protest against constant police harrassment which is being carried out against us, and which is condoned by the legal system.

In particular, we are calling for an end to the persecution of the Mangrove Restaurant of 8 All Saints Road, W.11., a Restuarant that serves the Black Community.

These deliberate raids, harrassments and provocations have been reported to the Home Office on many occasions. So too has the mounting list of grievances such as raids on West Indian parties, Wedding Receptions, and other places where Black People lawfully gather.

We feel this protest is necessary as all other methods have failed to bring about any change in the manner the police have chosen to deal with Black People.

We shall continue to protest until Black People are treated with justice by the Police and the Law Courts.

Action Group for the Defence of the Mangrove.

Copies have been sent to :

Home Office,
Prime Minister,
Leader of the Opposition,
High Commissioners of Jamaica, Trinidad, Guyana and Barbados.

Issued by H Antony McWhipp
Barrister-at-Law,

C/o 8 All Saints Road, W.11.



has access to it and to produce it at any time on request.

All movements of this file must be entered in the *Register* by means of the Charge Slip procedure, or noted on an approved Divisional or Branch record.

Whenever a document whether classified or not is registered to the file it must be serially numbered and indexed on the inside cover showing the classification of the document and its serial number. In addition all SECRET documents must be listed below.

A form H.O. 1st. 89 must be completed in respect of each document classified SECRET registered to the file and sent to the appropriate Registry.

When more than one copy of a SECRET document is despatched a circulation list showing the names and addresses to whom they have been sent must be kept within the file.

Serial No.	From	To	Date
91, A+B.	Mr Waddell	8 of 8.	12.8.
155	Box 500	Mr Hilary	31.12.7
157	Box 500	Mr Hilary	25.1.7